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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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ARAB RESPONSE TO CARTER'S MIDDLE EAST POLICY URGED

Carter's Negligence, Indecision Cited

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 8 Sep 79 p 17

[Editorial by Fu'ad Matar in the column "The Arab Position": "From Arab Rulers to American Public Opinion"]

[Text] Once again President Jimmy Carter has made a statement which does not appear convincing to anyone and is aimed only at sowing dissension and causing disagreement between Arabs and Palestinians.

The gist of the statement is that not one of the Arab leaders with whom Carter has met has demanded an independent Palestinian state, but these leaders publicly demand an independent Palestinian state because of their announced commitment to the resolutions of the Rabat summit.

What is more, by this strange position President Carter is accusing some leaders who counted themselves friends of the United States. The strange point about the matter is that instead of providing a reasonable climate to restore a warm friendship between his country and these leaders, Carter pours on more ice water and widens the rift of difference and disagreement.

Let's assume that there are some Arab leaders who fit President Carter's statement that they publicly demand a Palestinian state because of their commitment to the Rabat summit resolutions, but secretly refrain from such a demand. Assuming that this is an accurate assessment, does this matter come between the United States and its effort to help guarantee a Palestinian state? And if President Carter were to express a desire that such a state should exist, would the Arabs oppose him and attack his efforts, and would the Palestinians tell him that they do not want this?

No such rejection would occur under any circumstances, because the Arab states, without exception--and this includes Egypt, which is not allied with Israel--believe that there can be no stability in the region without the achievement of a just solution as represented by the establishment

of a Palestinian state. It is this solution which will end the bloodshed and loss of military resources, and it is this solution which will make the Arab citizen attend somewhat to his own problems and his own life.

In spite of this obvious truth, the matter requires a clear and definite Arab reply invalidating the impotence, indecision and changes of mind of President Carter, disclosing his real intentions and terminating his manner of dealing with the Palestinian issue--a manner which shows clearly enough that the man is amusing himself and aborting every available opportunity to achieve a just solution.

If such an Arab response were to appear, President Carter may say that it conforms with what he has said, namely that Arab leaders say publicly the opposite of what they harbor in private. Nevertheless, the response must inevitably be made that President Carter is not telling the truth.

Let the reply be tantamount to a signed statement from Arab leaders addressed to the American public.

It might be said that this violates the principles of official protocol and the manner in which states deal with one another.

However, President Carter's manner has gone beyond all principles. Perhaps something in the nature of the Arab reply might tend to force the President of the United States to end this frivolity and these practices which have reached the point of being an attempt to sow dissension among the proponents of a single cause.

Practically, President Carter is levying a charge against a number of Arab leaders in the belief that by making such a charge he is distracting attention from his negligence, indecision and changes of mind every time he approaches the point of accepting the necessity of a state for the Palestinians.

But President Carter's accusations, from which he gains no advantage except the Egyptian-Israeli alliance, demands an Arab reply which is up to the same standard of quality as the accusation.

It might be said that Arab leaders never let an occasion pass without declaring the necessity of a state for the Palestinians, and that no joint statement between two Arab states lacks a reference to this matter, and thus there is no need for a reply to President Carter.

It might also be said that whatever is openly declared by a party binds that party, and as long as all the Arab states have made sufficient declaration of the need for a Palestinian state, there is no longer any need for clarification or a harsh reply.



All these things and more might be said, but it appears that a clear Arab reply to President Carter has become necessary, since the American President has launched an operation to sow serious dissension in the Arab bloc.

There is also a question about the reason why President Carter wants to make such a statement reporting that the Arab leaders are against the Palestinian state in secret and for it in public.

In the form of an hypothesis, it can be said that there are a number of reasons. The most important of these under any circumstances would be that convictions among the American public of the necessity of a Palestinian state have begun to put pressure on President Carter to take action in this area, but because of his incapacity to act due to fear of Zionist pressure, he is shifting the responsibility onto the Arabs and saying to the American people in effect that he is not acting to achieve a satisfactory solution for the Palestinians because the Arab states do not want this, and he does not want the United States to have problems with the Arab states. It is as if no problems already exist, or as if the events which followed the Baghdad summit and the break which occurred in U.S. relations with some friendly Arab states do not mean a thing, and American public opinion or some sectors of it have failed to comprehend these things sufficiently.

This position on the part of President Carter reinforces the loss of hope in him which several Arab leaders have experienced, and at the same time corroborates the viewpoint held by other leaders. It confirms the loss of hope of those who refrain from taking a harsh position toward the Carter Administration out of a belief that sooner or later this course will make him reconsider and comprehend Arab feelings and aspirations. And it reinforces the opinion of those who believe that President Carter will not undertake a bold step because he is a prisoner of commitments which he has neither the capacity nor the conviction to reconsider.

#### New Position Requires Reaction

Paris AL-MUSTAQBAL in Arabic 18 Aug 79 p 21

[Editorial by Fu'ad Matar in the column "The Arab Position": "Carter the Palestinian"]

[Text] Judging by the quality of the relations between the United States of America and Israel and previous positions taken by President Carter, any statement about Carter's desire to produce a reasonable solution to the Palestinian problem is received with full reservation by the possessors of the problem and those who sympathize with them. Indeed, when these people hear a sensible statement from President Carter, they assume right away that some trap is being set or an attempt is being made to open a breach in the wall of steadfastness, and that there is no renunciation of right but an ongoing struggle in behalf of it.

We are entitled to make these assumptions because in the course of 20 years the United States has never informed us of an objective position. It is always on the side of Israel, and thinks only of Israel's security. Indeed, it has always been in constant readiness to fight alongside Israel if the need had arisen.

Therefore, any change in its position, even a slight one, is received cautiously by the Arabs. Thus if we were to hear that the United States had taken a firm position on the side of Israel, we would believe that immediately. But if we were to hear that it was in the process of moving toward a just position on the Palestinian issue, we would not believe it even if certain things confirmed it.

Therefore, the problem is one of a loss of trust on the part of the Arabs, and the responsibility for this loss of trust lies with the United States, not the Arabs. For the United States has made us accustomed to not trusting, and has repeatedly confirmed for us that it is on Israel's side, and on the Arabs' side only to the extent that they consent to U.S. support for Israel. Moreover, the United States has not allowed any Arab state to take a firm stance in favor of the Palestinian cause without badgering it, punishing it and trying to interfere in its affairs.

There is growing talk these days of a probable change in the American position, and such talk has begun to predominate over rumors of direct American military intervention in oil regions. The talk attained far-reaching importance with President Carter's remark in a press conference that the Palestinian issue is similar to the civil rights campaign in the United States.

Israel's reaction was sharp. There were those who protested and those who expressed distress and sorrow. Still others expressed haughtiness, arrogance and conceit, including one of Menahem Begin's aides who said: "We exist and we are not looking for anyone to acknowledge our existence. It is an insult to the intelligence."

In the past, President Carter has placed on record positions which Israel did not like, but when faced with this displeasure he has withdrawn from the positions. However, previous positions have not been on the same level or of the same importance as the new position, aside from the fact that Israel's displeasure is also at an unprecedented level. This time, it will not be easy for President Carter to withdraw from his position.

What can the Arabs do in the face of this new American position?

Should they regard it as nothing more than a trap which President Carter is setting for them in order to draw off their annoyance, which would inevitably be translated into oil and economic positions?

In the face of this situation, should they take the position of a spectator toward the American-Israeli contest, and only storm the field after the contest is over?

Should the Arabs keep in mind that President Carter had the ability to do so much for the Palestinian cause and say what he said without the occurrence of that horrible split in the Arab world and the isolation of Egypt from the Arab bloc?

It is a confirmed fact that President Carter's new position was not taken voluntarily but as a result of the solidarity of the Arab position in the face of his actions and the annoyance of traditional friends of the United States in the Arab region. It also proceeded from fears that President Carter might have to pay an exorbitant price for the Egyptian-Israeli settlement.

Rather than taking the spectator's role and holding the view that acceptance of the sincerity of President Carter's intentions excuses President Sadat from some of his actions, it is very important to take advantage of the new American position.

The advantage lies in increased support for a unified Arab position and the opening up of channels of contact with the American Administration.

The fact remains that President Carter's fight for reelection will not be won with Jewish votes and the good will of Israel alone, but with the oil, wealth and good will of the Arabs as well.

It is as if by his new position, President Carter wishes to tell the Arabs tacitly that increased pressure will crystallize the new position and make it a reality.

Will we act?

Let it be an experiment which will not cost us anything should we fail to gain. For ultimately it is President Carter who will bear the consequences.

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## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### FACTS ON SOVIET-ARAB ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 27 Aug 79 p 5

[Article: "Economic Relations Between Arab Countries and Soviet Union at Joint Chamber of Commerce Meeting in Moscow 3-7 September; in 1973-1977 Arab Exports Grew by 40 Percent; Imports Grew 120 Percent"]

[Text] The board of directors of the Arab-Soviet Chamber of Commerce will meet in Moscow between September 3 and 7 to complete the investigations on the development of Arab-Soviet economic relations and the means of strengthening them. These investigations had begun between the Arab and the Soviet parties at the Damascus meetings late last year.

Lebanon is represented at the meeting by a delegation headed by Mr 'Adnan al-Qassar president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Beirut. The delegation includes Mr Victor Qasir, Najib al-Khatib, Emil Barudi and Muhammad Lama'.

The secretariat general of the General Federation of Chambers of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture in the Arab countries had prepared a report about economic and trade relations between the Arab countries and the Soviet Union. The report included the following:

"Economic and trade relations between the Arab countries and the Soviet Union are proceeding with firm steps as a result of the efforts that are being made on more than one level. The noticeable expansion in the volume of trade exchange may be the best indicator of the growth of Arab-Soviet economic cooperation. The figures that are available on the volume of this exchange during recent years indicate that there are noticeable increases in imports and exports. It is expected that this trend will continue in the next few years because of the increasing need of each side to import some goods that are available to the other.

"It has been noted that the rate of increase in the Arab countries' exports to the Soviet Union during the period from 1973 to 1977 amounted to approximately 40 percent. This is basically due to the increase in exports to the

Soviet Union during the aforementioned period from Libya (147.9 percent); from Syria (97.2 percent); from Morocco (85.1 percent); and from Iraq (64.5 percent). Growth was also recorded in Arab imports from the Soviet Union. This manifested itself in a 120 percent increase in Arab imports during the same period.

"Information that is available about the composition of commodities in the trade exchanges indicates that raw materials constituted the most important exported Arab goods. Chief among those were crude oil and cotton. By comparison, goods used in production constituted the most important Arab imports from the Soviet Union. This composition permits the application of a cooperative trade policy between the two sides that is based on mutual needs. It helps to show the importance of cooperation in the field of transmitting technology between the Arab countries and the Soviet Union.

"The technological cooperation that is desired involves the basic goal of raising the Arab economy to the level of "technological self-sufficiency." Since, in general, the process of transmitting technology from the industrial countries to the Arab countries is restricted, circumscribed and focused in many instances on the stage of industrial assembly, achieving technical and technological cooperation between the Arab countries and the Soviet Union becomes imperative for the purpose of building the necessary foundations for technical know-how.

"It is noteworthy that among the developing countries the Arab world occupies an above average position in the field of scientific manpower. The Arab world has about 800 scientists/engineers for every 100,000 persons. This in itself facilitates the process of transmitting technology and constructing a developing, technical, scientific foundation. The importance of applied knowledge acquired through technical know-how cannot be minimized in building and developing the Arab economy, especially in the industrial field. It is our opinion that this requires the following matters:

"1. Intermediate goods and goods used in production are to be made available. This includes modern and developed equipment and machines.

"2. Experiences in the areas of planning and development are to be transmitted and exchanged. Past experiences in the Soviet technological and industrial field must be put to use.

"3. Superior technical capability and knowledge are to be transmitted and adapted for the purpose of improving Arab production to the highest technical and technological standards.

"There is no doubt that opportunities for cooperation in the technological field between the Soviet Union and the Arab countries are numerous. These opportunities are to be found in several basic industries that the Arab countries are including and are trying to build. The following are the most important of these industries:"

## 1. Oil and Petrochemicals

"Crude oil is considered one of the Soviet Union's most important imports from the Arab countries. By the end of 1976 the total value of imported crude oil has amounted to approximately 536,360,000 dollars, or the equivalent of 47.1 percent of total Arab exports to the Soviet Union. It has been observed that Iraqi oil exports constitute approximately 90 percent of total Arab oil exports to the Soviet Union.

"It is necessary to benefit from the Soviet Union's developing technical experience in the area of the petroleum and petrochemicals industry for the purpose of achieving cooperation that is based on the most modern scientific and technological bases. [This is necessary] especially since the high cost in this industry is basically due to the lack of advanced technological knowledge."

## 2. Agriculture and Food

"In spite of the magnitude of Arab agricultural imports (50 percent of Arab consumption), it has been noticed that the quantities of agricultural products which the Arab countries export to the Soviet Union are not inconsiderable. There is need for cooperation between the two sides for the purpose of developing agricultural production. The Soviet Union's advanced agricultural experience is to be put to use. What is being called for here is the transmittal of technological, agricultural know-how by means of developing agricultural research; of utilizing modern agricultural machines and equipment; and of adopting the most recent methods of irrigation, especially with regard to the semi-desert lands."

## 3. Industry and Mining

"The Arab world and the Soviet Union have been favored by an abundance of primary materials. There is no doubt that the ideal use of these resources in the Arab world requires the transmittal of advanced technological capability and knowledge. It is in this context that the mining industries occupy an important position."

## 4. Civil Engineering

"This includes structures for housing, means of transportation, dams, supplies for irrigation, public buildings and industrial buildings. The large volume of essential products imported from the Soviet Union for this sector emphasizes the importance of technical cooperation in this field.

"In addition to the above, there are other areas of cooperation in the transmittal of technology, especially in the areas of health, culture, tourism, electronics and communications. What is being called for is the adoption and development of the appropriate technology as a basis for economic and social progress in the Arab countries.



"The steps that are required to promote Arab-Soviet economic relations to the highest scientific, technical and technological levels need, in our opinion, several matters the most prominent of which may be summarized as follows:

"1. A joint information center is to be established. It would have the responsibility of supplying the necessary information to all the economic organizations and departments in the Soviet Union and in the Arab countries. It would [also] prepare adequate studies about the possibility of developing Soviet-Arab economic cooperation.

"2. Joint Arab-Soviet centers are to be established in some Arab countries. These centers will be responsible for the transmittal and development of technology through the following means:

"A. There is to be cooperation with the aforementioned proposed information center to obtain the desired information for the purpose of achieving the process of transmitting technology.

"B. An effort is to be made to establish more projects and joint economic agreements (long-term or short-term) on an official level.

"C. An effort to achieve mutual participation in local projects in both the Soviet Union and the Arab countries is to be made.

"D. The exchange of technical experience in the fields of industry, agriculture and mining as well as in other economic activities is to be carried out.

"E. The fields of cooperation between Arab and Soviet organizations are to be opened for the purpose of establishing joint projects in the different economic sectors.

"F. There is to be direct participation in the establishment of special institutes for vocational and technical training in all the areas of technological specializations and management. Vocational and technical training programs are to be based on the quantitative and qualitative need of the Arab countries.

"G. Financial and technical assistance is to be offered to the national economic organizations which have a direct relationship to the process of transmitting technology.

"H. A series of joint debates is to be set up to deal with the different subjects of technology in agriculture, in industry, in energy and in other areas for the purpose of taking advantage of the exchanged information that Arab and Soviet experts have.

"1. A joint Arab-Soviet bank is to be established. Among its goals will be the development, adaptation and transmittal of suitable technology in the context of Arab-Soviet economic cooperation.

"To complete the above, what follows is a brief view of the most important economic agreements that were concluded between the Arab countries and the Soviet Union from 1976 to 1979. These agreements explain the nature of the development of relations between the two parties and the importance of these relations."

#### Tunisia

Following negotiations with officials in Tunisia during the month of April 1976 the Soviet Union agreed to invest 32 million Tunisian pounds (74.6 million dollars) in irrigation projects in the northern part of the country.

#### Algeria

An agreement for economic cooperation between Algeria and the Soviet Union was signed in January 1976. The agreement stipulates that the Soviet Union is to participate in mineral exploration and to offer essential technical experience to develop the iron factories, the power plants and the water desalinization plants in addition to building a railroad in southwest Algeria.

#### Sudan

A trade agreement between Sudan and the Soviet Union was signed in August 1976. According to this agreement the Soviet Union is to explore for some minerals that are to be found in the area of al-Jabal along the Red Sea. The agreement stipulates that the Soviet Union determine the quantities of manganese and iron ore in the northern and southern [part of the] area. Utilization of these raw materials is to begin during the Five-Year Plan for economic development.

#### Syria

A Five-Year trade agreement between Syria and the Soviet Union was signed in January 1976. According to the agreement Syria is to export cotton, crude oil, wool and leather. In return, it would import industrial equipment and machines.

The Soviet Union approved the establishment of three power stations in Syria. The capacity of each one of them is 100,000 kilowatts.



## Iraq

A trade agreement between Iraq and the Soviet Union was signed early in 1976 for the purpose of strengthening cooperation and increasing the volume of trade exchange.

Iraq signed a contract with a Soviet company on 22 June 1978 to build three wheat silos in Baghdad, Kirkuk and Muthanna. It is estimated that the capacity of one silo is approximately 10,000 tons. Contract costs, meanwhile, are estimated to be 7.6 million dollars.

During the last quarter of 1978 Iraq granted the Soviet (Soyuzfit) Export Company a contract worth 4 million dollars to build oil tanks for Iraqi oil in addition to pipes and natural gas supplies.

During the first quarter of 1979 Iraq concluded a contract with the Soviet Techno Export Company to build a refinery in the North al-Ramilah field. This contract came about in the context of the Iraqi-Soviet Cooperation Agreement that was concluded in 1976.

## Lebanon

A 1.5 million dollar contract has been signed between the (Takmarsh) Export Corporation and a Lebanese businessman. According to this contract the Soviet corporation is to guarantee a wheat elevator in addition to other miller equipment. The elevator has a capacity of 3,000 tons of wheat whereas the daily production capacity of the miller equipment amounts to 180 tons of flour.

## Libya

An agreement for technical cooperation was signed in March 1976 between Libya and the Soviet Union. The agreement stipulates that the Soviet Union offer technical assistance to Libya in educational and cultural projects. In addition, the Soviet Union is to offer technical participation in national cement projects.

The Soviet Union and Libya signed an agreement for commercial, industrial and technical cooperation on 18 February 1978. Each one of the two parties promised in this agreement to work towards developing the volume of trade exchange between them. [It is worth noting] in this regard that three agreements between the two sides pertaining to shipping, economic and technical assistance and cultural cooperation were signed on 9 December 1976.

In accordance with an agreement that was signed in October 1978 between the Soviet Union and Libya, the Soviet Union is to undertake the establishment of a 300 megawatt nuclear power reactor. The reactor is to include a research center and several laboratories, in addition to a special section for the desalinization of water.

## Morocco

On 26/1/1978 the government of the Soviet Union and the Moroccan government signed an agreement for economic, technical and cultural cooperation. According to this agreement Morocco is to export phosphates to the Soviet Union over a period of 30 years in return for importing crude oil and wood. The value of the goods that are to be exchanged in accordance with this agreement is estimated to be about 9 billion dollars. The agreement stipulates that the Soviet Union contribute approximately 2 billion dollars for the development of the Maskala Mine whose reserves amount to between 8 and 10 billion cubic meters [of phosphates]. Sources of the Moroccan government indicate that the trade exchange between Morocco and the Soviet Union did undergo a noticeable development during the last 5 years and that Moroccan exports to the Soviet Union consist mostly of citrus fruits, wine, coal and tomatoes, whereas its imports consist of crude oil, wood, tractors, electrical motors and generators and drugs.

On 26 April 1978 a fishing agreement was signed in Moscow between the Soviet Union and Morocco. The agreement stipulates the establishment of joint marine corporations for fishing; the carrying out of the necessary studies and experiments to develop fish resources around the coast of Morocco; the improvement of the fishing routes; and the training of Moroccan technicians.

Official sources indicate that total Moroccan exports of citrus fruits to the Soviet Union amounted to 184,000 tons during the 1977-1978 season. The Soviet Union is expected to import citrus fruits worth 60 million dollars during the 1978-1979 season. It is worth noting that Morocco's fruit exports to the Soviet Union are estimated to be about 200,000 tons, worth 75.5 million dollars.

## Mauritania

An agreement for trade cooperation between the government of Mauritania and the government of the Soviet Union was signed during the first quarter of 1977. The agreement stipulates that the Soviet Union participate in mineral exploration and geological survey operations.

## The Democratic Republic of Yemen

An agreement was reached between the Yemeni National Oil Company and the Soviet Union in June 1977. According to this agreement the Soviet Union is to participate in oil exploration in the southern governorate. This would be part of the plan for the second stage of exploration that is being carried out by this company. It is to be mentioned that the Soviet Union had begun sending large quantities of crude oil directly to the national refinery of Aden after it was nationalized early in 1977.

On 6/2/1978 the prime minister of Yemen stated that the Soviet Union would finance and undertake implementation of several developmental projects in Yemen. This is in the context of the agreement for economic and technical cooperation that was signed in February of the aforementioned year.

On 12 February 1979 official sources indicated that the government of Yemen had charged the Soviet Union with building a nuclear station in Aden. The sources expect the nuclear power station to have a capacity of 110 megawatts, and they expect that this capacity would be later increased to 165 megawatts. The sources add that the Soviet Union will finance and implement several economic projects in the second Five-Year Plan which is still being studied. It is to be mentioned that the cooperation will include modernizing and developing the commercial port of Aden in addition to continuing the construction of a fish canning plant in Makla. It is expected that preparation of this plant will be completed during the second half of this year.

#### The Arab Countries' Most Important Exports and Imports to and From the Soviet Union

The Country	Exports	Imports
Jordan		cement; wood; iron sheets; bars; angles and pipes; other iron and steel production goods
Algeria	crude oil; food products; alcoholic beverages and vinegar; cork; organic chemical products	vegetable and animal oils, wood, coal and wood products; sugar and confectionery; cement; oils and fuel; cotton; iron and steel; aluminum; mechanical and electrical machines and equipment; cars; tractors and other vehicles; medical tools
Saudi Arabia		wood, pipes and tubes; electrical equipment; cars
Syria	crude oil; cotton textiles; wool; raw cotton; cotton and wollen clothing	wheat; cement; gas; wood; iron and steel bars and rods; angles, sheets and pipes; iron products; motors; pulleys, cars and tractors
Iraq	crude oil; dates; cigarettes	wood; iron bars; mechanical machines and equipment; trucks; soil digging machines; vegetable oil
Uwail		wood; tubes and pipes, cars; electrical equipment

The Country	Exports	Imports
Libya	crude oil; fruits and citrus	iron and steel; cement; wood
Morocco	fruits; cork; alcoholic beverages; copper; fluor spar	crude oil; fuel and oils; wood and coal; motors, cars and tractors; electrical machines and motors

The Soviet Union's Oil Imports from Some Arab Countries in 1973-1976 (in Million Dollars)

The Country	1973	1974	1975	1976
Algeria	-	-	87.23	-
Egypt	1.98	12.46	13.79	10.87
Iraq	262.72	319.54	422.84	492.80
Libya	42.96	-	-	-
Syria	3.67	22.72	-	32.69
Total	311.33	354.72	523.86	536.36

8592

CSO: 4802

BRIEFS

IRAQ LOAN TO JORDAN--Iraq has granted an ID 1 million loan to Jordan for agriculture and agricultural cooperatives. The loan will be used to provide small farmers in Jordan with working capital whether it be for the rearing of cattle, farming or acquisition of farming equipment. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 16]

TUNISIA-IRAQ TRADE PACT--Iraq and Tunisia have signed a trade protocol recently amending the terms of an earlier trade cooperation agreement signed in 1975. The agreement was signed by the Iraqi Minister of Trade and the Tunisian Minister of Planning, Mr Mustapha Zannouni. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 16]

CSU: 4820

## AFGHANISTAN

### AMIN SPEECH TO WAZIRESTAN TRIBAL ELDERS

Kabul Radio in Pushtu to Europe 20, 21 Sep 79 LD

[1730 GMT 20 Sep 79]

[18 September speech to Wazirestan tribal elders by Hafizullah Amin, secretary general of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, chairman of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister]

[Excerpts] [Amin--begin recording] Dear compatriots, the Khalqi regime in the beloved homeland of your forefathers, Afghanistan, is interested in peace and is desirous of amicable coexistence with all countries of the world. It has no intention whatsoever of invading and will not attack anyone. It does not interfere in the internal affairs of anyone, but it has no wish whatsoever to sacrifice the interests of the toilers of the people of its homeland for the wishes and [word indistinct] of others. We are desirous of peace and we fight for peace and not for war, but when our homeland is subjected to an onslaught, we will defend it whether through [?fighting or any other form] of struggle. We regard the toilers as our brothers wherever in the world they may be, especially the toilers of Pakistan and Iran, who are our brothers and with whom we desire amicable fraternity. This is our duty. We will allow no one in Afghanistan, allow nobody, and will not permit anyone to say even one word against the toilers of Pakistan. [applause]

We will spare no efforts that may be possible in serving the toiling brothers of Pakistan. We wish the toiling brothers of Pakistan whatever we wish for ourselves. Anyone who is the enemy of the toilers of Pakistan is our enemy. [applause] This is also why the toilers of Pakistan defend our revolution.

We absolutely reject the lies and propaganda saying that people have fled Afghanistan and cannot return to their own country. Those who used to live on the people's blood here or those who exploited others and work [words indistinct], they lived off other people's toil and lived as a burden on the people's shoulders, since they lost profits and usurious interest as well as lands and lost [words indistinct] they fled this place. Or else they are uninformed and deceived individuals who have been tricked [?by the enemy] and have left their homes.

We declare this to these valiant and hardworking brothers of ours: wherever they are residing away from their homes, their homes and their entire homeland are looking forward with open arms to welcoming them in their own homes and to come and live in their own country with pride and honor. Let them not be deceived by the enemy any longer. Today their homeland is blossoming and soon the red flowers of this happiness [as heard] will spring up in every corner of the homeland. And they it can be said with pride that this land possesses such courageous toilers who have built a blossoming garden out of this ruined and backward country. [applause]

All the toilers are now against parasitic elements. The country is progressing with the joint [?affection] of all toilers. They know that now no one any longer can be persecuted in Afghanistan without cause. No one can tell anyone else anything without reason. No one may violate the rights of others, for the workers and toilers [?are in power] and the interests of all toilers are being realized. I request you, respectable and dear brothers, to travel in Kabul or in any part of Afghanistan you wish and observe how all toiling Muslims are worshipping in mosques and places of worship with great enthusiasm and how they enjoy the freedom and pride to perform their religious rites according to whichever school of Islam may be to their liking. [applause] [end recording]

[1110 GMT 21 Sep 19 10]

[18 September speech to Wazirestan tribal elders by Hafizollah Amin, secretary general of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, chairman of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister]

[Excerpts] [Amin--begin recording] They [presumably those who have fled Afghanistan] do not allow the toilers of Afghanistan among themselves; they do not consider the toilers of Afghanistan as part of them. The toilers of Afghanistan know that they are the agents of the aliens who wish to deceive our toiling people with the aid of money; kaldars, pounds, dollars and rials. Our courageous people will never give away their homeland, their revolution, honor and the proud legacy they have inherited from their forefathers for pounds, kaldars, dollars and rials. We know that any brave man who lives between the Oxus and Atak and loves his homeland will defend his revolution and his people. [applause]

I am proud to say that today you, like your fathers and grandfathers, once again raised your hand, picked your sword and gun in defense of the Sacred revolution and of the land of your forefathers, your fraternal people, and fought against the enemies of the revolution at the joint fortress. This is a source of pride for us and for all of our toiling people. It is once again a test before the world to show that no one can separate these people. Whenever their interests are endangered, they sacrifice their lives in order to defend it and thus please their fathers and forefathers in their graves. [applause]

the coming of you valiant Waziris and Teris has given us the honor of talking to you. This was a special place in the heart of every Afghan patriot and this occasion will be a red-letter day in the history of Afghanistan. Today Afghanistan enjoys a position of honor in that all the world is watching it. Everyone has turned their eyes toward it to see how these valiant people accomplished such a workers' revolution, and how brave and honorable they are. This is the effect of the courage of all you toiling brothers which is now apparent throughout the world, and all the world toilers are proud of it. You see that the waves of revolution are spreading far and wide in Afghanistan, and Afghanistan is progressing with speed. This is the result of the bravery of you valiant toilers.  
[end recording]

CSO: 4906



AMIN ADDRESSES TANI ELDERS

Part I

Kabul Radio in Dari to Europe 1730 GMT 24 Sep 79 LD

[Part one of speech by Hafizullah Amin, secretary general of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister, addressed to the elders of Tani District of Qandahar at the People's House on 24 September--recorded]

[Summary] I am pleased to tell you that today our people are walking in their old shoes through the palaces of the despots. You have come to your home, and this People's House belongs to you. You have shown in history that whenever our home was occupied by others you have thrown them out.

All the toilers, especially the toilers of Iran and Pakistan, were amazed how in Afghanistan the poor toilers have taken control, but this movement has opened the way for them, too. Henceforth they have no worries and understand that a country's fate is determined by the people themselves. You have heard from your forefathers that whenever it was time to attack the British it was they who did it but the credit went to the Sardars who ruled in the name of our forefathers. You gained the country's independence, but the agents of the British came and assumed power.

The Saur revolution put an end to all this, and no longer can others come to rule over us. It is now the toilers, workers and peasants who rule. It took only 10 hours for the true sons of this country to overthrow the Sardars and announce the victory of the Saur revolution. You heard for the first time the voice of the people over Radio Afghanistan.

These previous exploiters will have to leave the country. You cannot find instances of these exploiters and previous rulers having been killed in any war--it is we who made the sacrifices. These exploiters are instigating our people against us. Today they oppose us, to whom the country belongs. We support the toilers of Iran and Pakistan but condemn those who deceive these toiling brothers of ours by their dollars, rials and kallars. The assassins who have gone to their masters to collect money spend most of it on themselves and spend the rest on making trouble among our people.

"When we attack the enemy with full force it is because he attacks us. We have time and again announced that we want very good neighborly relations with Pakistan. All the toilers of Pakistan are our brothers. We have invited His Excellency Ziaul Haq, the president of Pakistan. We are waiting for him to come to Afghanistan and talk to us. We have invited excellency Agha Shahi, his adviser. He has been invited by our minister of foreign affairs. He has promised to come to Afghanistan and talk to us here. These talks will continue, because we want peace, we do not want aggression. We want good neighborly relations.

"We always have said that we want to hold talks with the leaders of Iran, with the leaders of the government of Iran, with those in charge we want to sit and talk and try and strive for what is possible for the sake of strengthening peace. We make this proposition of peace, the zealot leaders of Iran make threatening noises at us; they boast at us; they never think that the brave toilers of Afghanistan have inherited from their forefathers the trait of never having been frightened by bullying, and they do not fear and will not be frightened."

The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan is the leading force in our country. This party and the Revolutionary Council have given me the power to appreciate your support for the country's progressive measures.

## Part II

Kabul Radio in Dari to Europe 1730 GMT 25 Sep 79 LD

[Part two of speech by Hafizullah Amin, secretary general of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister, addressed to the elders of Jundi District at the People's House on 23 September--recorded]

[Excerpts] This kind of meeting and mingling perturbs our enemy a great deal, meeting like this causes great anxiety on the part of our enemy. When we say that Afghanistan is the proud and common homeland of all the Baluchis and the Pushtuns, all the toiling Pushtuns and Baluchis, all the toiling Tajiks, all the toiling Hazaras, all the toiling Uzbeks and Turamens, all the toiling Nuristanis and all other toiling groups, our enemy is perturbed by this. We are proud of our homeland, which we all share. We say: Our homeland is a shared one; we protect it with our common efforts. Anyone who looks with an evil eye at our revolution, our (good indistinct) and our homeland is the common enemy of us all. This perturbs our enemy, and the enemy cries and screams and shouts accusations and lies. Sometimes he says that so many people have fled, and at other times he says that many more have fled.

Our compatriots, it is an obvious fact and no one can deny it, that in winter millions of toilers move until they reach the banks of the Amu. In summer they return until they reach the banks of the Amu. If people interpret this movement to and fro in this way, they are making lies out

of our toiling people. We say that those people who fled from Afghanistan have lost unwarranted profits here and can take no part in the building of the country. If other toilers have been deceived and have fled the country or have been displaced within the country, they cannot be reckoned among those profiteers, despots and parasites, and never can these toilers accept this accusation that they should be reckoned among those rascals, despots and escapers. This is their country, this is their shared home, any moment and anytime that they want, with respect and honor in any part of Afghanistan they can have a life full of pride. [applause]

Our slogan for the toilers now is that Afghanistan is full of legality, security and justice, and the lights of legality, security and justice shine in Afghanistan so that no one may cause anyone undue hardship or undue trouble. Anyone who is troubling toilers, or is causing unreasonable hardship to the toilers, or is attempting to do so, or is thinking of it is not of us and cannot represent us. If he introduces himself on our behalf, he is a rascal. We say: don't give him a chance but quickly hand him over to the government. [applause]

CSO: 4906

## AFGHANISTAN

### BRIEFS

**NANGARHAR UNIVERSITY ADDITION**--During glorious ceremonies, while laying the cornerstone of the new addition for the University of Nangarhar, Associate Prof Mahmud Suma, minister of higher education and vocation, delivered the warm greetings and good wishes of Hafizollah Amin, secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister, to the noble people of Nangarhar Province, professors and students of this university, which were greeted by passionate revolutionary slogans and continuous applause of the participants. At the beginning of the ceremonies, some verses from Koran were read. Following the singing of the national anthem of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan by a group of students from the university of Nangarhar, Sardar Mohammad Wali, secretary of the provincial committee and governor of Nangarhar, delivered a lengthy speech on the lofty objectives of the undefeatable April revolution and asked the minister of higher education and vocation to lay the cornerstone of the new addition for the University of Nangarhar. The new addition for the University of Nangarhar, the cornerstone of which was laid today, will be built on 50 acres of land in four blocks and will have three stories. It will house numerous classrooms, administration offices and other necessary facilities and is expected to be completed within 18 months by the [name indistinct] construction company at a cost of 100 million afghanis from government appropriations. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 25 Sep 79 GF]

**TUBERCULOSIS INSTITUTE ESTABLISHED**--The National Institute of Tuberculosis and the Kabul Center for the Control of Tuberculosis was officially opened this morning during ceremonies with the cutting of the red ribbon by Dr [name indistinct], minister of public health. At the beginning of the ceremonies, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA] national anthem was played, after which the minister of public health, in a speech, commented on the fruits of the great April Revolution under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], pioneer of the country's working class, and expressed gratitude for the grant and assistance provided by Japan for the construction and establishment of the National Institute of Tuberculosis and the Kabul Center for the Control of Tuberculosis. He called this assistance further proof of the realization of untainted friendship between Afghanistan and Japan. This institute, equipped with modern medical facilities, was built on 20 acres of land at a cost of 750 million Japanese yen, a gift from Japan. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 20 Sep 79 GF] 22

CONGRATULATION MESSAGES--The information office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that congratulatory telegrams were received in Kabul today from the following leaders and foreign governments, addressed to Hafizollah Amin on the occasion of his appointment as secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA]. He Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and He Stanko Todorov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of that country; He Yumjaagiyn Tsendenbal, first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of People's Great Hural of the People's Republic of Mongolia, and He [name indistinct], chairman of the Council of Ministers of that country, and He Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, president of India. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 20 Sep 79 GF]

BANGLADESH CONGRATULATIONS--The information office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that on the occasion of the appointment of Hafizollah Amin as secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, a congratulatory telegram has been received in Kabul from He Ziaur Rahman, president of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 24 Sep 79 GF]

KHAYBAR ULEMA GREETINGS--The dignified society of Ulema in Khaybar has sent a congratulatory message to Kabul on behalf of themselves and all [name indistinct] tribesmen, addressed to Hafizollah Amin on the occasion of his appointment as secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA]. In their message, they expressed hope for his success in bringing prosperity to the people and for the blossoming of our beloved Afghanistan through the help of the Almighty. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 20 Sep 79 GF]

OFFICIAL TO USSR--Dr [Panjshiri], member of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] Central Committee and minister of public works, left for the Soviet Union this morning for medical treatment. Several members of the Council of Ministers were present at Kabul International Airport to bid him farewell. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 20 Sep 79 GF]

CLERGY SUPPORTS AMIN--The Ulema, clergy, religious preachers and Imams of mosques held rallies today in various parts of the country and announced their affirmation of the declaration by Afghanistan's Society of Islamic Ulema. They also welcomed and saluted the appointment of Hafizollah Amin as secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA], president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan [DRA], and

acknowledged him as the master leader of Afghanistan's Islamic community. In statements delivered on this occasion, the Ulema, clergy and imams of mosques, said that inasmuch as Hafizollah Amin is himself a Moslem and was born into a Moslem and pious family and respects the lofty values of the great religion of Islam, therefore, following the Koranic verse "Thou shalt obey God and His prophet and the master leader from amongst ye," it is incumbent upon all noble people of Afghanistan to obey him. In their statements, the Ulema, preachers and clergy added that they are ready for all kinds of sacrifice and devotion to realize the lofty goals of the great April Revolution and those of their Khalqi government, and that they will always support and protect the fruits of the great April Revolution and the Khalqi government of Afghanistan. They strongly denounced and condemned the corrupt elements and those opposing the great April Revolution, who have been engaged in plots and conspiracies with their venomous propaganda. They declared that anyone found involved in such activities must be considered a rebellious element and an enemy of society, and that it is imperative and indispensable that their blood be shed and that they be put to death. Through their resolutions, they have urged all people of Afghanistan to eliminate such corrupt elements. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 20 Sep 79 GF]

VIETNAM CONGRATULATES AMIN--The information service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that on the occasion of Hafizollah Amin's appointment as secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, congratulatory telegrams were received in Kabul addressed to him from He Ton Duc Thang, president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and He Pham Van Dong, prime minister of that country. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 23 Sep 79 GF]

CONGRATULATIONS TO ANGOLAN PRESIDENT--The information office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports that Hafizollah Amin, secretary general of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, president of the Revolutionary Council and prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, has sent a congratulatory telegram to Luanda, addressed to He Jose Eduardo [name indistinct] on his appointment as secretary of the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola--party of labor and president of the People's Republic of Angola. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 23 Sep 79 GF]

CSO: 4906



## METHOD OF PASSAGE OF PERSONAL STATUTES LAW DECRIED

Cairo AL-I'TISAM in Arabic Aug 79 pp 3-4

[Article: "The Personal Statutes Law"]

[Text] To begin with, the fact that we turn to a calm discussion of the personal statutes law should not be misconstrued as an indication of fear from any quarter. Our motivation is that the law was passed equally quietly, without the People's Assembly being aware of it, or, more precisely, while the Assembly was not in session. Secondly, our discussion will not center on the law's theological and doctrinal aspects--some of our more esteemed religious experts have already done that, including Dr Musa Shihin, vice president of Al-Azhar University--rather, we will concentrate on the circumstances, motives and ramifications of the law. Thirdly, as practicing Moslems, our interest in the law does not stem from a desire to oppose any legislation in which is conformance with divine doctrine, as long as such legislation is not created artificially to cater to the whims and desires of a particular group at the expense of Islam. It is our right, therefore, to raise some of the questions which arose following the passage of this law.

For example, why was the law passed while the People's Assembly was not in session? Worse yet, why was the law promulgated in the papers a few days before the new People's Assembly was to convene? According to the constitution, any law promulgated in the absence of the People's Assembly must be characterized by extreme urgency, such as a declaration of war or a national emergency. We do not believe that this law, which has been on a back shelf for many years, satisfies the constitutional criterion of urgency. The opposition party leader, Professor Ibrahim Shukri, brought out this very point in the People's Assembly. Furthermore, why was such an important piece of legislation given to the People's Assembly not to debate but to approve or reject in toto, especially since rejection would be most unlikely in view of the fact that the majority of members belong to the ruling party?

Another question: Why was there a deliberate plan to advertise the merits of the law through the media? The law was published in the daily newspapers. Later that same evening it was aired on television and publicly defended by

Dr 'Abd al-Rahman Bisar, rector of Al-Azhar University, the minister of religious affairs, Dr Nima, as well as Egypt's supreme religious judge. The newspapers subsequently solicited statements of support from numbers of the Islamic Research Institute. Yet that institute, our supreme religious body, was not once consulted before the law reached its final form. It is an established fact that the same institute, under the former leadership of Shaykh Muhammad Abu Zahra, had rejected the law. When Dr A'ishah Ratib, then minister of [religious] affairs, proposed a law opposed by the Islamic Research Institute, Al-Azhar's former Shaykh, Dr 'Abd al-Halim Mahmud, headed an effort to draft a law in conformity with Islamic religious doctrine. To this day we do not know the fate of that law. The most perplexing aspect of this affair is that Dr 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Nimr is the most enthusiastic champion of the personal statutes law. We still remember how Dr al-Nimr reacted several years ago to newspaper reports of a similar law. In his book "Some Thoughts Concerning Religion and Life," (Beirut, 1973), Dr al-Nimr had this to say:

"The furor raised by writers of both sexes surrounding the proposed personal statutes law has reached every corner of the land wherever newspapers and magazines are sold. We, far away in Kuwait, cannot ignore what is being said and written, especially in view of the fact that all Islamic nations are sensitive to events in Egypt, the site of Al-Azhar, and, most importantly, with regard to the promulgation of a personal statutes law. Any law, proposed by whatever committee, must be subjected to the give and take of debate. Let writers tone down what they say. Shouting serves no useful purpose. If they value the people's real interests, they should debate the articles of the law objectively and rationally to determine their conformity with or divergence from religious doctrine. They would do better to explain the law's negative impact on society and come up with positive suggestions, rather than concentrate on reproducing this or that text of the law."

It is evident that Dr al-Nima was referring to a proposed law rejected by women's groups. Those groups were able to kill the law prematurely because of the law's faithfulness to religious doctrine. As the women's groups gained strength, they were able to impose a new law, one more pleasing to certain lifestyles.

We ask Dr al-Nimr: Was there an opportunity to subject the new law to public opinion generally or to religious opinion in particular? We doubt that the Islamic Research Institute had a hand in drafting the law and believe that its sole function was to endorse it after it was proposed.

We ask Dr al-Nimr again, in his capacity as a religious official: Was there an urgent need to pass the law while the People's Assembly was not in session? And which should have a greater priority, the personal statutes law or the law governing adherence to Islamic doctrine? The latter law is still stumbling along. Both Dr al-Nimr and the shaykh of Al-Azhar began their tenures by declaring their intention to apply religious doctrine.



Ordinary people trusted their word and believed that supremacy of doctrine would soon become the order of the day. They realize now that these promises were only meant to calm the clamor.

Then comes the author Aminah al-Sa'id. Notwithstanding that the new law gave women all they wanted, the author is not satisfied. In her magazine *HAWWA'* [Eve], she claims that "reform did not reach certain fundamental elements of women's lives." She is, of course, referring to the fact that the law did not include an explicit injunction against divorce and polygomy as is the case with Roman Catholicism. More surprising still, in her article, "Victories To Be Preserved," the author blames the old personal statutes law for the moral decay in Egyptian society. She says:

"Careful studies conducted by the Ministry of Social Affairs indicate that the personal statutes law which has been in effect in Egypt for generations has, as a result of changing social conditions, itself become a source of grave social dangers, not the least of which is the deprivation visited upon the younger generation as a consequence of a lack of a healthful environment conducive to security, stability and dignity. The traditional personal statutes law bears the primary responsibility for the spread of immorality, prostitution and a variety of perverse moral attitudes in Egyptian society. The children of divorced couples are the most direct victims of this tragic phenomenon. As a result of divorce, they are faced with homelessness and lack of parental care."

We respond to the author: The West, which you sanctify, is the cradle of moral degeneracy and the haven of broken families. Whatever moral lassitude exists in the East has filtered into our traditions from the West through the foreign press. Her remarks are apparently inspired by the western tradition which forbids divorce and polygomy. We have not forgotten what the author wrote nearly a quarter century ago in *AL-MUSAWWAR* magazine: "I shall not be satisfied until women have achieved equality with men with respect to inheritance laws." A few years later she wrote: "How can we be expected to submit to the opinions of four theologians born in Egypt's dark ages?"

The story does not end here. A young Moslem man recently asked me during a lecture: "Do you believe there is a connection between the new personal statutes law and our new open policy toward the West? Is there a connection between the new law and American aid or the renewal of missionary activity?" I responded that only God and our political leaders knew.

9063

CSO: 4892

## BRIEFS

**TEXTILES PROJECT IN NINEWA**--The State Establishment for Planning and Construction in Iraq is currently setting up a children's ready wear plant that will have a capacity of 320,000 item per year. The project is scheduled for completion in the coming two years. Its overall cost exceeds ID 5 million. Meanwhile the Dehouk Textile Plant was inaugurated recently and will start production at the rate of 126 tonnes of thread and 160,000 meters of cloth annually. The total cost of the project amounted to ID 1.5 million. Two million Iraqi Dinars were recently earmarked to replace the equipment at the State Establishment's Plant for Clothing and Textiles in Mosul with new equipment. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 13]

**COOPERATIVES LOOMING**--The Iraqi agricultural authorities have reportedly achieved significant progress in the field of cooperatives. This was announced by a source of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Reform. The source said the number of agricultural cooperatives had increased by 17 this year and that the planned number of cooperatives did not exceed 12. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 13]

**DRAINAGE CONTRACT SIGNED**--The Mayor of Baghdad signed a contract with an unnamed international company for the control of rainfall by setting up a complete drainage system in the Iraqi capital. The value of the contract amounted to ID 16 million. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 13]

**PROJECT ALLOCATIONS RAISED**--The Planning Board in Iraq recently decided to raise the overall investments earmarked to some projects under this year's expenditure programme. The increase covered amounts allocated for the creation of 183 schools in the Anbar governorate, the Koufa Cement project and a meat processing project in Fudailiya. The Board also decided to adjust plans for the construction of 1,800 residential units in Misan with connected secondary and primary schools. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 14]

**PRICING COMMITTEE**--A specialised committee set up in Iraq to examine and assess pricing policies in the industrial sector started work recently.

The committee includes Directors in the Ministry of Industrial Estates and Planning, Finance and commercial officials in various ministries. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 14]

HEALTH PROJECTS IN ANBAR--The Iraqi Ministry of Public Health recently initiated a number of health projects in the Anbar governorate with an estimated total cost of ID 12 million. This was announced by Ir Riyad Ibrahim Hussein, Iraqi Minister of Public Health at the inauguration of a hospital in Ramadi. Minister Hussein said the projects to be initiated include a 400-bed hospital in Ramadi, another maternity hospital, also in Ramadi, a quarantine in Al Qaim and other research centers and infirmaries and health supplies in various areas of Iraq. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 14]

SILOS PROJECT--The Iraqi State Establishment for Construction is currently building a number of grain silos at an estimated total cost of ID 90 million. The head of the establishment Mr Adnan Sherif said these silos are being built in various locations in Iraq and that silos will be built next month in Dabuk, Sheikhhan each with a 20,000 tonne capacity. The Iraqi silos project will be completed with a capacity of 80,000 tonnes. He added that the establishment had also started 3 silos projects this year in Tuz (50,000 tonnes), Khanqin (20,000 tonnes), Baaquba (30,000 tonnes) and the Durra silos is being operated experimentally at present. Three silos will be completed next year in Hilla (40,000 tonne capacity) Sinjar (20,000 tonnes), Diwaniyye (15,000 tonnes). Other silos with a total capacity of 175,000 tonnes are underway in Shurqat, Tal Afr, Samarra and Um Qasr. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 15]

ARAB HEALTH PROJECT--A number of hospitals will be built in Basrah at a cost of ID 31 million to upgrade medical services offered to citizens, the Baghdad daily AL JUMHURIYA said. The facilities will include a maternity hospital with 500 beds. A preventive medicine ward will also be built at Al Fao and an emergency hospital with a 300 bed capacity. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 15]

GENERAL CONSTRUCTION PROGRESS--Departments of the Ministry of Housing and Construction in Iraq are fully active in completing projects assigned for the current year. Major emphasis was placed this year on Housing which received substantial allocations reaching ID 500 million. Major projects being implemented are the Jisr Al Muthana bridge and other drainage and sewerage projects. One other project in the housing sector is the project No 10 in the Karadet Marian which will provide 2,000 housing units at a cost of ID 191 million. Another 1,000 units will be built in the city of Al Thawra at a cost of ID 19 million. The rate of implementation in the various construction projects this year has so far reached 53 percent of the projects assigned while in other sectors it reached 91 percent. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 15]

**NAJAF AGRICULTURAL TRAINING CENTER**--The State Establishment for Technical Training Centers awarded an unnamed international firm a contract to set up an agricultural training center in Najaf at an overall cost of ID 13.5 million. The center will be built on 400 donums and will cover cattle rearing training and crop farming. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 15]

**EQUIPMENT IMPORT PROGRESS**--The Iraqi State Establishment for the Import of Equipment has completed 50 percent of its import programme for 1980. The Director of the Establishment said the imports designated under the programme will start to flow into Iraq as of October. He added that the import programme for 1979 was 100 percent completed. The Establishment is responsible for the import and distribution of heavy equipment for construction and farming and other electric and building equipment. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 16]

**ASPHALT PLANTS**--The Road Directorate at the Anbar Governorate recently initiated two asphalt plants in the Ramadi district with a combined capacity of 120 tonnes of asphalt/hour and with a total investment cost of ID 287 million. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 16]

**SUMMER CULTIVATION**--The area cultivated in summer crops in Iraq in the first half of this year reached 1.202 million donums including those cultivated by the state establishments. The area cultivated makes 72 percent of the planned area under the 8th agricultural conference which was held earlier this year. The conference had prescribed the cultivation of 1.675 donums with summer crops. The state agricultural authorities are currently exerting effort to complete the prescribed cultivation. [Text] [Beirut THE ARAB WORLD WEEKLY in English 22 Sep 79 p 16]

CSO: 4820

## INTERVIEW WITH TRADE MINISTER DAJANI

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 24 Sep 79 pp 6-7

[Text] As this newsletter reported in its September 17 issue, complaints were voiced at the Tunis meeting of the Arab Economic Council that the Arab oil-exporting countries were not doing enough for the others and that inter-Arab trade was still too limited. In the following interview with AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO's Randa Takieddine, Jordan's Trade and Industry Minister Najmeddin al-Dajani explains why in his view Jordan is better off than most other nonoil Arab states.

[Question] In his opening speech to the Economic Council meeting, Tunisian Premier Hedi Nouira said that the Arab oil-exporting countries were not investing enough elsewhere in the Arab world. Do you share this criticism?

[Answer] To be fair to the oil exporters, the level of aid they give is far higher in proportion to their GNP than that from any industrialised nation. Qatar, for example, allocates 20 percent of its GNP for development aid, the UAE 10 percent, Saudi Arabia 4 percent. The average aid from the US, Japan and the countries of Western Europe works out at about 0.3 percent of their GNP.

The oil producers are participating in the economic development of the other Arab countries, although their assistance has to an extent been eroded by inflation, particularly over the past six months. The price of oil, food, industrial manufactures, minerals and other commodities have all gone up, in some cases by as much as 60 percent. The average inflationary impact has been somewhere between 25 and 40 percent and the developing countries have not been able to compensate by raising their export prices in proportion.

It is of course true that the level of investment by the oil producers is not as high as it might be, but some countries are better geared to receiving investment than others. Jordan is one of these. In the 1950's, the '60s and early '70s we laid the basis of an important economic

infrastructure which makes ours a more attractive country for foreign investors than, for instance, Sudan, Somalia or Yemen. Some countries rely exclusively on official transfers, but we are able to absorb private investment as well. Foreign investment in Jordanian industry, tourism and education last year was running at about \$1 million a week. In addition, huge sums are going into real estate. About 70 percent of all this investment comes from other Arab countries.

[Question] Is Jordan's membership of the so-called Arab Common Market an incentive to investors?

[Answer] You must distinguish between public investments, which generally come through bilateral or international agreements, and private investments, which are attracted by a reasonable profit margin and political and economic stability.

Jordan's membership of the Arab Common Market has been a useful factor. Many European companies seeking to penetrate Arab markets have entered into joint ventures with Jordanian firms in order to market their products elsewhere in the Arab world. Eastern European countries, which have difficulty trading with Saudi Arabia, have discovered that they can participate in the production of Jordanian goods from Jordanian resources and that these can be easily marketed in the peninsula.

Again, some foreign manufacturers, such as Japanese television companies, are working in joint ventures with Jordanian firms because the finished products will enjoy tax-exempt status in the Arab markets which a purely Japanese product would not have.

Although the local market is very limited, we in Jordan are trying hard to develop an export-oriented industry. Over the past three years or so, we have had to rely for between 70 and 80 percent of our outlets on foreign markets. In the past two years alone, we have concluded at least 17 trade agreements with European nations on a most-favoured nation basis. These countries include notably Austria, Norway and Sweden and, in the Eastern bloc, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania and Yugoslavia. We also have agreements with China, Japan, Australia, North and South Korea.

As you know, our principal export commodity is phosphates. Our average production this year is about 2.5 million tonnes, but next year we hope to raise this to 4 million tonnes, because we are opening a new mine. After phosphates come vegetables and fruit, which we export of the Gulf, and industrial exports like plastic chips, construction materials and metallurgical products. We are now concentrating on capital-intensive industrial processes which require advanced technology. Jordan has only limited manpower resources and we prefer to export skilled labour and rely on technologically sophisticated processes, rather than try to compete with countries like Bangladesh, Egypt, India, Pakistan and Syria, which have much larger pools of cheap labour.

[Question] Do you think that phosphate prices will remain as low as they are now?

[Answer] Phosphate prices are already on the increase and I think that by next year they will have gone up by between 12 and 15 percent. Our exports of phosphates and industrial goods hardly enables us to cover our oil bill, but thanks to economic stability, tourism and foreign exchange transfers from Jordanians living abroad, our economic situation is quite healthy. Despite the increase in import prices, our balance of payments still shows a small surplus.

[Question] One of the issues raised at the Tunis meeting was food security. What is Jordan doing in this field?

[Answer] During the 1967 war we had enough wheat and flour stocks to last about two weeks. Today we have grain silos and mills which should guarantee food security for quite some time. We also have cold storage warehouses containing enough meat and poultry for several months and other strategic food stockpiles.

We find that, with the recent increases in commodity prices and other import costs, the financial investment in the stocking systems has gained in importance. Our chief problem has been the lack of rainfall over the past two years and we are trying to get round this by using dams.

END 18/0



## PLANS TO CONTROL PRICES, SUPPLIES OUTLINED

Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 28 Aug 79 p 4

[Interview with the undersecretary of the Ministry of Supplies, Muhammed al-Saqqaf]

[Text] How successful has the Ministry of Supplies been in controlling prices? Why are identical items sold at different prices in different stores and why are other items free of price controls altogether? Why are some stores subject to price controls while others are permitted to operate freely? There are, in fact, two pricing policies: the price of certain items is established by the Ministry of Supplies, and other items are free of price controls but are merely subject to the ministry's requirement that their price be posted.

Items which are priced by the Ministry of Supplies are well controlled. The pricing of other items is left to the business community. This system gives the customer an opportunity to compare prices and to shop selectively.

The price disparity on the local market is due to several factors, most important of which is the profit margin that a particular store is willing to accept. Some will not sell goods for less than 25 percent profit while others insist on a 50 percent or greater profit margin. The profit margin an establishment is willing to accept is pegged to the establishment's rent, transportation and other overhead costs. Some businessmen pay tens of thousands of dinars, excluding staggering leases, for the privilege of doing business in certain locations. Other places of business may be had for as little as 100 Jordanian Dinars (JD) annually. Some establishments opt for modern decors while others do not. All these factors enter into consideration in calculating the cost to the establishment and in setting prices; thus, the disparity in the price of the same item from store to store. All these facts were in my mind as I went to discuss the situation with Mr Muhammad al-Saqqaf, the undersecretary at the Ministry of Supplies.

[Question] Regulations dealing with restaurant classification are based on certain fundamental criteria. These criteria, however, omit the taste and the sanitary conditions during the food preparation. Is there a remedy?



[Answer] Restaurant classification and control is something new to the Ministry of Supplies. We began the experiment only last year. Our initial involvement in this area was successful, following several years of extensive study by a special committee, culminating in the establishment of five criteria in classifying restaurants. The criteria set a fair pricing policy for each restaurant according to its classification. This policy is reasonable to the extent that it does not impose a uniform pricing system on all restaurants regardless of classification.

This was only a start, as I mentioned earlier. In implementing this policy, however, we discovered that it was not adequate, and that it failed to take into consideration certain important aspects. A new committee composed of private individuals, restaurant owners, as well as representatives from the ministries of tourism and supplies was formed to establish a new policy. After a comprehensive study, and with the consent of the restaurant owners, the new policy was approved. The new policy heavily emphasized restaurant cleanliness and food preparation. The use of modern kitchen facilities--a most important matter--was also recognized as essential in the preparation of good, healthy food.

The Ministry of Supplies is constantly trying to improve its capability of controlling both prices and the quality of the food served in restaurants. In my opinion, other agencies, including the health department, and municipal authorities bear the primary responsibility for insuring the cleanliness and quality of restaurant food.

[Question] Are you planning to exempt restaurants in the rural areas from the new classification policy, as is customary in Europe, especially since they do the bulk of their business on holidays?

[Answer] I agree with you that we should encourage rural restaurants and recreational establishments, especially those located in remote areas. But our aid should have some limits. There must be controls to prevent profiteering. Our restaurant classification committee does take these factors into consideration. They offer special encouragement--three star classification instead of two--to seasonal eating establishments. In the Qhor region, for example, we have many winter recreational establishments. If we impose a strict pricing policy on them, they would be forced to shut down. While we try to avoid this, we also try to prevent customer exploitation.

[Question] Jordan's economic development policy encourages investment outside the capital city in a variety of ways. Some investment capital is exempt from income taxes. Does this policy apply outside Amman? What are some of the important projects undertaken by the Ministry of Supplies?

[Answer] The Ministry of Supplies is embarked on numerous tax exempt projects. These projects are not aimed at profits but at increasing services. We attempt to spread these projects in all areas of the country.

When we embarked on building refrigeration plants and grain silos, we concentrated our effort in Aqaba and Amman, the latter being the largest consumer. Aqaba is our only port. Imported supplies are stored there before distribution to the cities according to need. Ordinary storage facilities are located throughout the country. By the end of this year, the ministry will have storage centers in Amman, Irbid, Al-Karak, Al-Salt, Ma'an and Al-Zarqa'.

As you know, one of our primary goals is to insure a reserve of basic foodstuffs. In order to have reserves of flour, wheat, sugar, rice and meats, we need adequate storage facilities. The construction of such facilities has been an overriding concern of this ministry. We now have silos with a capacity of 100,000 tons of grain, capable of supplying Jordan's needs for 3 months. We have refrigeration facilities in Aqaba and Amman, each capable of holding 1,500 tons of meat--a 6 months' supply. Other storage facilities under construction will, by the end of this year, bring our storage capacity to 120,000 tons. These facilities are scattered throughout the country and will hold up to a 6 months' supply. Another important project undertaken by this ministry is the construction of a modern bakery capable of producing 11,000 loaves of bread per hour. This project will end our bread shortage. In view of our inadequate flour milling capacity and the persistent need to import this basic foodstuff, the ministry has constructed a flour mill with a capacity of 400 tons per day. The mill will be put into operation at the end of September. Another major ministry project has been the construction of storage facilities for fruits, vegetables, cheeses and eggs. These facilities hold 5,000-6,000 tons.

[Question] Oil prices have recently increased on the international market. Will this be reflected in higher food prices in Jordan?

[Answer] As you know, the Ministry of Supplies was created to combat inflation and to serve the citizenry by insuring the availability of food supplies at reasonable prices. The government is currently subsidizing the cost of bread at the rate of 50 JD per ton of wheat. Similar subsidies went into effect during the 1973 sugar crisis. The government no longer subsidizes any particular commodity. Instead, it permits absorption, i.e., a lower price for one commodity is offset by a higher price for another. For example, in the past we suffered losses due to lower lamb prices. The losses were made up by higher sugar or rice prices. Similarly, the ministry's losses on milk are compensated by higher prices on other commodities. The ministry's objective is to serve the people by insuring the availability of good quality basic foodstuffs at reasonable prices. The price we establish for a given commodity is primarily related to its importation cost. If we pay 100 JD per ton for commodity X, we set the consumer price at 1.20 JD per kilogram. We cannot sell it for 1 JD per kilogram; otherwise, we would lose. When the ministry sets a price for a given commodity, however, that commodity is indirectly subsidized in several ways:

1. Storage costs are not included;

2. Shipping losses and weight losses due to drying are not included;
3. Transportation costs on ministry vehicles are not included;
4. Port entry fees and related expenses are not included. The ministry maintains offices at Aqaba and other border crossings for that purpose.

If prices rise internationally, the ministry will have no choice but to reconsider its pricing policies to prevent losses.

[Question] What about peddlers who consistently violate official prices? Why has nothing been done to stop this practice?

[Answer] The ministry does, in fact, issue citations against violators. Vendors are notified that they are in violation, but they are also given an opportunity to protest unfair citations. What complicates this matter is that vendors have no permanent places of business--a fact that hinders the notification process. Most of them set up temporary street stands to sell fruits and vegetables and fail to post their prices clearly. Frequently, we cannot issue citations because we do not know their names or business addresses. Nevertheless, we view this as a serious matter particularly in view of the fact that this practice is expanding in the cities, including Amman. We must find a solution quickly. Theoretically, vendors who are not burdened with rent and other overhead costs should sell at lower prices. In practice, however, they charge higher prices. I believe that Amman's police and municipal government can help us put a halt to this problem. The public can also help by refusing to buy from peddlers.

[Question] Fines are being routinely imposed on peddlers, but they are not high enough to stamp out violations. What is the ministry's reaction to this?

[Answer] The ministry cannot intervene in the judicial process. The courts are independent. Our duty is to present the cases to the court with a summary of the violator's past record. We have noted lately that the courts are imposing higher fines and we hope this trend will discourage the habitual offenders.

[Question] Price controllers have an important role to play. It is in everyone's interest that they conduct themselves as friends of the businessman rather than his adversary. What has the ministry done to give the controllers a better understanding of their role?

[Answer] Price controllers are hired only after their educational background has been thoroughly checked. They are selected on the basis of promise and their potential ability to be good examples. Successful candidates are put through a training session to learn about our pricing guidelines and the more important aspects of their jobs. They are then tested. Those who fail repeat their training session or are shifted to other parts of the ministry.

Those who pass the test receive between 1 and 2 months of further on-the-job training. Only then are they permitted to begin regular duty. In addition, we hold weekly sessions for all controllers to discuss problems and new instructions. Controllers are encouraged to be honest in reporting violations. Some of our controllers have gone to attend 2-3 week long training institutes in Syria, which is ahead of us in this area.

[Question] Why is there such a disparity in the price of fruits and vegetables between Jordan and neighboring Arab countries?

[Answer] The disparity in prices extends to all items, not just fruits and vegetables. Syria, our closest Arab neighbor, enjoys lower prices on most commodities for an obvious reason. The Syrian Government imports most consumer products or establishes prices for their sale. Profit margins are fixed by law. The situation is different in Jordan. The government imports only a certain number of commodities. The ministry sets prices for a few others. All other items are not subject to price regulations. Merchants and importers set their own prices. This is the reason for the disparity.

[Question] What role does the ministry play in investigating the "so-called" sales advertised by businesses? Does the ministry oversee these sales to insure that they are genuine?

[Answer] No doubt sales promotions are regulated throughout the world. In Jordan the responsibility for overseeing sales promotions was entrusted to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. Recently, that ministry abandoned that responsibility, leaving businessmen free to police themselves. No agency is in charge today and there is a definite need for some government body to assume that responsibility. Clearly, sales promotions are related to prices and prices are the responsibility of this ministry. Consequently, the Ministry of Supplies must intervene to safeguard the people from becoming the victims of fraudulent practices. We are studying the matter and hope that our effort will soon lead to a practical program.

The undersecretary, Mr Muhammad al-Saqqaf, concluded with these remarks:

I take this opportunity to repeat that the Ministry of Supplies was created to serve the people, consumers and producers. The ministry attempts to serve all citizens and to halt the price spiral. We ask the people to cooperate with us by not patronizing questionable establishments and to report fraudulent practices.

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CSO: 4802

LEBANESE FRONT CRITICIZES MILITARY PROMOTIONS

Beirut L'ORIENT-LE JOUR in French 5 Sep 79 pp 1, 10

[Article: "The 'Lebanese Front' Condemns Promotions Within the Army"]

[Text] The misfits will soon be promoted in their turn, but no rehabilitation for rebellious officers.

In a meeting yesterday at Dayr 'Awkar, the "Lebanese Front" examined the problem of promotions within the army. In a communique issued at the end of the meeting, it condemned "the unreflective, off-handed and superficial quality of this series of promotions which overlooked certain deserving officers."

During the meeting the deputy from North Matn, Amin Jumayyil, read a detailed report on information collected concerning the thinking which prevailed when the orders were drawn up.

The strong reaction of the "Lebanese Front" may have caused the army command to change its attitude on this touchy question. In fact, according to sources close to Yarzag, the command might have already decided to attach to army and FSI [Internal Security Forces] promotion orders certain riders for "rehabilitating" the misfits. But the same sources hasten to point out that officers who have been charged with rebellion, felony, desertion, or who had dealings with the enemy...could not expect to be promoted in the same manner as soldiers who have never been prosecuted.

The same sources also say that the new series of promotions could be announced within the next 10 days and will place the names of about 80 army officers on the promotion roster. It is after this second series of promotions that the new post will be assumed in the armed forces and the FSI.

If this information can be confirmed, it may cause the "Lebanese Front" to tone down the vehemence of its accusations.

Nevertheless, here is the communique which was issued yesterday at the end of the meeting of the "Front":

"Tuesday, 4 September 1979, the full membership of the 'Lebanese Front' met at Dayr 'Awkar. We studied information about the latest army promotions, which were held in secret. In the light of this information, the 'Lebanese Front' considers the unreflective, off-handed and superficial quality of these promotions to be a dangerous outrage of Lebanese dignity. Moreover, they may deal a serious blow to the morale and efficacy of the army. Also, the public may lose confidence in this national institution, especially in the present situation. Consequently, the 'Lebanese Front' has felt the need to call an emergency meeting with those authorities concerned in order to gain some realistic understanding of the circumstances. After that, we will adopt a decisive attitude with the purpose of safeguarding the dignity, sovereignty and interests of Lebanon."

Upon leaving Dayr 'Awkar, President Chamoun stated: "The 'Lebanese Front' examined several questions, notably the problem of the latest promotions. On that score, one must question why Lieutenant Chattas was not promoted, since he valiantly defended his position at Galery Sim'an for 6 consecutive months in the face of repeated attacks by Palestinians, Iraqis and others. Conversely, other officers who surrendered their posts to the so-called Arab Lebanese Army, have benefited from this recent series of promotions. This group includes, among others, Major Ibrahim Shahin, who surrendered at Rashayya."

Jumayyil: "Loyalty First"

After the meeting of the "Lebanese Front," the head of the Kata'ib [Phalanges Party], Pierre Jumayyil, made a statement: "I believe that our discussion of the promotions problem was not in the army's best interest, because one cannot undertake the rebuilding of a 'national' army in this manner. We must insure stability on a patriotic basis and not on a denominational basis, so that the military will be totally loyal to Lebanon. Denominational balance is necessary but not sufficient. When it was put to the test in the recent past, some soldiers went over to the Palestinian side while others defended their country. In any case, all Lebanese support the Palestinian cause, in spite of the fact that some have exploited it to serve their own ends. However, one cannot aid the Palestinian cause by defying Lebanese interests."

"Whatever the circumstances," Jumayyil continued, "the Lebanese army can be rebuilt only on the basis of total allegiance to Lebanon. In addition, we must be aware of the goal to be attained after the rebuilding of the national forces. Thus, allegiance to the country must prevail over all other considerations. Furthermore, the late Riyad al-Sulh told me that the Moslem community was favorable to a Maronite president of the republic, not for the affection that Moslems bear for Christians or Maronites, but because the minorities might therefore be reassured about their future."



"When the 'Lebanese Front' criticizes the latest series of promotions," Jumayyil added, "it wishes to underscore by its action the concept that allegiance to the country must prevail over denominational considerations. The example of Munir Tarabayh is instructive here: he demonstrated that Lebanon's interest must take precedence over all other considerations when he occupied the post of interim commander in chief of the army."

Asked in another connection about a telegram which he recently sent to Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad, the head of the Phalanges Party answered: "As I said in my message, Lebanon is by nature a country of freedom in the full sense of the word. Whether he be Christian or Moslem, the Lebanese citizen feels at home because he enjoys the same rights as his fellow citizen. The Moslem feels persecuted in Europe as does the Christian in an Arab country. Lebanon alone is a meeting place for all. I am convinced that President Hafiz al-Asad fully understands my point of view."

In response to a question, the head of the Phalanges Party stated that the Havana summit "will have no positive results." Commenting on the presence of Salim al-Huss, the head of government, at this summit, Jumayyil said: "President al-Huss is a Palestinian first and then a Lebanese. That is our sole criticism of him, because who among us is against the Palestinian cause as long as it does not go against Lebanon's interest? On this occasion it is appropriate to recall that all our misfortunes in the south and other regions stem from the armed and anarchistic Palestinian presence and the meddling of foreigners, especially Arabs, in our internal affairs. Accordingly we must stop imploring international opinion to pressure Israel into ending its military activities."

In conclusion Jumayyil said: "Those who exploit the Palestinian cause for unacknowledged purpose act like a man of the cloth who uses his habit to disguise smuggling activities. The comportment of the international left is such that all concerned factions must join together prudently because Lebanon's safety is in their hands."

The "FL": "A Losing Bet"

Yesterday an authorized spokesman for the "Lebanese Forces" criticized the new series of promotions stating that "officers who are felons and deserters were rewarded whereas loyal and patriotic officers were punished because they risked their lives defending lawfulness."

The spokesman added: "Not all officers are deserving of automatic and universal promotion. Among those who benefited from the series of promotions were certain officers of the former second office, whose promotions had been pending in 1976 by Sulayman Franjiyyah. He did so because of certain activities on their part, notably the 'Crotale' incident. Certain officers in the FSI were similarly affected."



Calculating that "the state will neither be able to accept the challenge or go very far with such methods," the spokesman for the "Lebanese Forces" asked: "How is today's army different from the army of April 1975? If the recent incidents at Beirut port and 'Uyun al-Sim'an had lasted 48 hours longer, the army would have fallen again."

Finally, concerning the deployment of the army along the former Sidon road in the old business district and along the street of Banks, this same spokesman emphasized the following: "When the state is committed to assuming its responsibilities in all regions then the 'Lebanese Forces' will do all they can to facilitate the task."

#### Favorable Parliamentary Reaction

In parliamentary circles, Sim'an Duwayhi, Mahmud 'Ammar and Albert Mukhaybir stated that they were, in substance, favorable to measures aimed at hastening the rebuilding of the regular forces.

Duwayhi stated, "The recent series of promotions has reinforced cohesion in the army, especially since the Yarzah command has accorded each his due, most notably those whose rights had been denied. We hope that this will pave the way for agreement, which is to say for the deploying of the army throughout all of Lebanon."

For his part, Mahmud 'Ammar said, "It would be best if the politicians did not meddle in the promotions problem, in order to spare the reputation of the army which must remain free from all political struggles."

The deputy from North Matn, Albert Muskhaybir, stressed the fact that "promotions in the army and the FSI are only the province of the competent authorities, which is to say the Ministry of Defense and the Department of the Interior." He added that he was against "politicizing" this question.

#### Meeting of the Defense Commission

Colonel Fu'ad Lahud, president of the parliamentary commission for defense, announced yesterday that the commission will hold a meeting Friday at 10:30, to examine questions placed on the agenda which includes: the promotion of officers in the army and the FSI; an armament program, for which a budget of 3 billion has been foreseen; arms purchases either concluded or to be concluded in terms of credit of Fr 150 million (1978) and a budget of 250 million (1979); the purchase of Portuguese tanks and German boats; the restoration of the army's "Mirages" to service.

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CSO: 4800

## BRIEFS

PRO-IRAQI BA'TH PARTY--Yesterday Walid Junblat, head of the Progressive Socialist Party [PSP] received a delegation from the pro-Iraqi Ba'th Party which included Rafiq Abi-Yunis and Radi Farhat. After the meeting Junblat stated, "The visit of our comrades and friends from the Ba'th Party is in keeping with the general pattern of reinforcing the historic ties between our two parties. This is especially true after the Ba'th Party reversed its decision to suspend its membership in the National Movement [MN]. Thus the Ba'th Party resumes its natural role in the forefront of the MN, which it helped to build and sustained in difficult times." The leader of the PSP again affirmed: "We are not surprised by this national initiative taken by our comrades in the Ba'th Party. After having expressed the hope that the break with the MN "was only a passing fancy," Junblat concluded by praising the Iraqi position and stating his support for the MN." [Text] [Beirut L'ORIENT-LE JOUR in French 11 Sep 79 p 3] 9161

IRAQI BA'TH PARTY LEADERSHIP--A meeting last night brought together Dr Abd-al-Majid al-Rafi'i, secretary of the regional leadership of the Iraqi Ba'th Party, Radi Farhat and Rafiq Abi-Yunis, adjunct secretary and member of the leadership, respectively, and Muhsin Ibrahim, executive secretary of the central political council of the "National Movement" [MN]. The discussion concerned elements of controversy between the Ba'th Party and the "MN," which caused the party to announce, 2 weeks ago, the suspension of its participation in the central policy council of the "MN." At the end of yesterday's meeting, Rafi'i made a statement in which he stressed that the discussion took place in a positive atmosphere marked by the spirit of understanding. He affirmed that the Ba'th Party did not intend to go it alone. He finished by announcing that the party had decided to suspend its previous decision to cease participating in the "MN." However, an examination of the controversial points will continue within the framework of the "MN." [Text] [Beirut L'ORIENT-LE JOUR in French 5 Sep 79 p 10] 9161

CSO: 4800

## BRIEFS

TRADE AGREEMENT WITH GREECE--Libya signed an agreement with Greece under which it will step up its imports of Greek goods and set up joint industrial ventures. The agreement is intended to make it possible for Greece to pay with exports for 15,000 tonnes of Libyan oil which it is receiving under the terms of earlier agreements. Libya has recently expressed growing interest in expanding its economic, technical and trade links with Greece and Greek construction companies are at present involved in projects in Libya worth about \$170 million, mostly for infrastructural works. Greece and Libya have also agreed to set up a joint investment company as soon as possible to finance industrial and tourist ventures. One of the first ventures to be discussed is a projected plant to produce ammonia and fertiliser. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 24 Sep 79 p 7]

CSO: 4820

## ISLAM PLAYS VITAL ROLE IN DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

Khartoum AL-AYYAM in Arabic 29 Jul 79 p 3

[Article by Mukhtar 'Ajubah: "Where Is Sudanese Society Going?"]

[Text] The Social Dimension of Religion in Sudan

The core of Islam in Sudan is the collective conscience. Thus, an individual represents the collective conscience of the group to which he belongs and through which his existence is realized. Religious institutions used to be established to serve religious and social objectives on an equal basis. This happened both in the villages and in the prairies. In Sudanese cities, however, we find that religious institutions were established in most cases for the observance of rites. These institutions may include people among whom no social or economic ties exist and who may not even know each other. Accordingly, mosques were built in cities so that they could be frequented by people [whose identities] were not clearly defined and whose numbers were not known. Mosques, monasteries, hospices, small mosques for religious orders and shrines used to be built in the villages so that comprehensive and integrated economic, social, educational, therapeutic and religious functions could be performed for members of a well-known and clearly defined society. Now, the mosque in the cities does not represent the integrated and comprehensive center for economic, social and educational relations of individuals who frequent it or of the district in which it is built. This [also] applies to the role of educational institutions and other economic and social institutions as well.

Religious education was part of the daily life of individuals. [It entered their lives] through interconnected and interrelated channels that played their part spontaneously, unspoiled by design and unrestricted by an arrogant or a prescribed coercion of individuals. This is because these institutions [of religious education] were numerous and their functions which are cognitive and affirmative were perceived by the individual in his habits, his traditions, his religious observances, his joys and his sorrows. It was through the freedom of interaction with these institutions and through contributions to them that individuals and groups interacted with the different sectors of the population, of the geography and

of the economy. It was through this interaction on different levels that began with the family and included the kinfolk, the village, the tribe and the religious brotherhood as well as the monastery, the mosque, the shrine and the religious order that individuals were able to determine their affiliations and to continue renewing and enriching them. The Sennar Sultanate became aware of the necessity of preserving this formula and, consequently, its kings did not resort to the establishment of religious barriers, nor did they try to assume or take away religious power or favor one course or sect over another. Although the King of Sennar was called the Sultan of Moslems, the Sennar Kingdom came closer to being a secular political state than a religious or a sectarian state.

#### Can One Make a Distinction Between Political Power and Religious Power in Islamic Countries?

The struggle for political power in Islamic countries led to the outbreak of strife between religious sects. Every secular or cultural group used to adopt an Islamic religious doctrine that would be its prelude to the establishment of its own state. Consequently, every group thought of itself as having the right to govern Moslems or as having been deprived of that right. This increased the furor of sectarian fanaticism and of the traditional Shu'ubiyah Movement ["a movement within the early Islamic commonwealth of nations which refused to recognize the privileged positions of the Arabs"--Hans Wehr]. Thus did the Moslem state in Spain come to an end; the Abbasid Caliphate was weakened; and the power of the Islamic civilization shrank with the waning of the 'Alawis and Fatimids, who singlehandedly controlled Persia, North Africa and Egypt. The Moguls and the Tatars were advancing from the east, and the Christians were advancing from the north. But in order for Islam to continue its advancement, a flexible spiritual power had to replace the stern political power. Hence the uprisings of the Sufis [mystics] who rejected the politicizing of religion and sided with the subjects against the theologians. The Sufis also opposed attributing religious qualities to politics or government, and they sided with the subjects against unjust rulers. They did that to incorporate religion and society; to incorporate the subjects and the spiritual leadership; and to integrate the spiritual leadership with God. In general, the Sufis synthesize the opposing components of the universe. With them time and place are one; life and death are one; the world and the hereafter are one; good and evil are one; and the worshiper and the worshipped become one. The Sufis, therefore, do not separate religion from society. If evil were to prevail in society, good would ultimately be victorious no matter how feeble it was. The Sufis have remained committed to this method in their practices, in their lives and in their teachings in Sudan. Sufi men in Sudan have succeeded in educating their followers and their disciples according to flexible methods that make them coexist with creeds that are contrary to theirs. The Sufis respect elderly scholars other than their own. They respect their methods and religious creeds and courses of life other than their own methods, creeds or courses of life. Hence grew the Sudanese people's

religious, political and social tolerance, but it is the tolerance of the powerful, of those who believe in good and aspire to it. Al-Shaykh Ahmad al-Huda was asked about the truth of al-Mahdi at the beginning of his missionary activity. He replied, "He was a good Mahdi for us, although we did not understand what he gave us." The man did not try to vilify a Sufi he did not know. Years later al-Shaykh al-Huda died and he was granted the authority of a spiritual leader.

Sudan had not directly experienced sectarian struggles and battles prior to the Turkish age. Sufi men used to be students of learned religious scholars of sects other than their own. They used to teach each other the literal and the hidden meanings of the Koran and the Prophetic Tradition. It was the enrichment of local cultures that enabled the holy and the devout men of Islam to bring together knowledge of the literal and the hidden meanings of the Koran and the Prophetic Tradition. Furthermore, theologians who taught the literal meaning of the Koran in the Noble al-Azhar became holy and devout men and Sufis who were held in great esteem after their return to Sudan. This was the only acceptable model for a man of religion in Sudan until the end of the 18th century A.D.

#### Sufi Orders and the Freedom of Affiliation

The flexibility of Sufi orders in Sudan manifests itself in the fact that affiliation with Sufi orders is only a matter of individual choice within a family. As far as the individual himself in the various stages of his life is concerned, he may belong to more than one order. He may begin [by joining] one order, and then turn to another. There is nothing to force an individual to follow a specific order or sect. This flexibility was later reflected on the possibility of multiple political affiliations among members of a single family during the days of party organizations in Sudan. It was reflected on the fact that society accepted the phenomenon of individuals changing their political and also their ideological affiliations.

Sudanese society is distinguished by the fact that it is a society of ancient civilizations; at the same time Sudanese society has been shaped recently. Sudanese society is new because Islam as the religion of the majority is no more than 500 years old. Sudanese society is an ancient society because the movements of civilizations that Moslems inherited and with which they coexisted have not been interrupted. These civilizations are still enriching Islam and are being enriched by it. Sudanese society, therefore, stands out among many recently formed societies. We, for example, are to be distinguished from U.S. society which is built on cultural bases other than those in the United States' own land. The white man extirpated the civilization of the Red Indians and did not coexist with it. Americans were unaware of the importance of the civilization of the Red Indians until they had extirpated it and found that their society was floating in the air without any cultural rudiments that could

grow roots in their land. We are to be distinguished from Israeli society, for example, because Israel is establishing its state on usurped land over which it is trying to revive a culture whose roots had been severed thousands of years ago. Our civilization in Sudan was able to link its ancient past with its radiant present. We are the spiritual and biological children of the Nile, the Merottic, the Christian and the Islamic civilizations. Is there anyone amongst us who thinks that non-Islamic civilizations are dead civilizations and who considers their revival and their being the subject of discussion or recognition in the year 2025 A.D., for example, a work of the devil?

If we were to recognize these civilizations, what would be their influence on the legislator? It is my belief that the legislator must take into consideration the basic components of the mixture from which Sudanese society is formed.

A. The principles of Islamic law, the studies that accompanied this law and the cultures that came in contact with it in North Africa, Spain, Egypt, Syria, Iraq and the Arabian Peninsula. These are the fountain-heads of Islam whose streams flowed into Sudan.

B. The Christian religion in Sudan and the legacy it inherited from the other Merottic and Nile Valley civilizations. In addition, there is contemporary Christianity in the south and the north.

C. Local cultures in Central Africa and conventional religions in Sudan.

D. Western civilization. It is these sources themselves that formed groups of Moslem missionaries in our country at the present time. They may be narrowed down to the following [groups]:

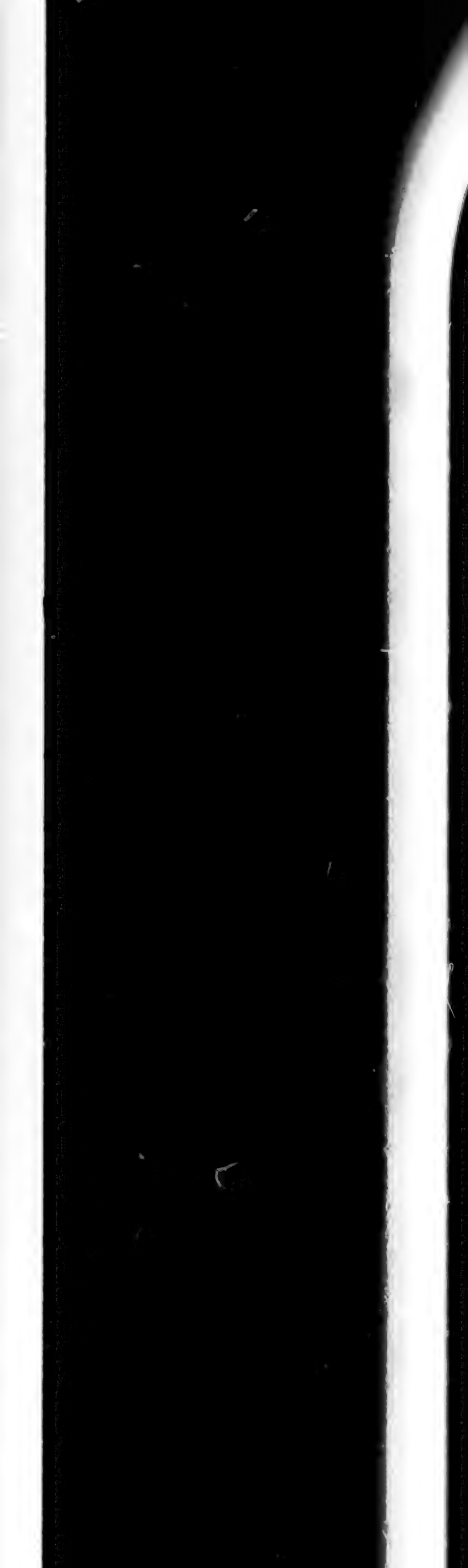
(a) A group that is working on the gradual application of Islamic law; and its method is one of persuasion.

(b) A group that is advocating the immediate application of Islamic law and accents [the principle of] fragmentation for the purpose of realizing *jehad* against its method is derived from the notion of holy war in Islam.

(c) A group that views Islam in terms of a war against Western civilization and oriental atheism. The Islamic community is sound as long as it can protect itself. The method of this group is based on advocating isolation.

(d) A group that accepts people as they are and works with individuals and groups. It is characterized by flexibility about its members and about their adherence to religious practices. Its method is one of reliance on the spontaneous development of religion, that is to say, society.





The groups differ inasmuch as those who are responsible for them differ. They differ in accordance with the degree of involvement that those who are responsible for them have with Sudanese society; and they differ in accordance with the political support each group receives either from inside the country or abroad. The groups also differ inasmuch as their views on the future, the size of their memberships and their educational levels and social classes differ. If we wanted to determine the success of any one of the groups in the year 2025 A.D., we would have to study the Saudi, the Iranian, the Libyan and the Pakistani experiences. Our study of these experiences may lead us to [the realization] that the establishment of an integrated Islamic society is possible or impossible. This is also the opinion of other groups that think it is necessary to establish a national secular state. Such a state would derive its laws from all the cultures, civilizations and religions that are available to it just as the United States, India, Egypt, Tunisia, Turkey and Nigeria did. [These groups think that Sudan] should establish a secular state where adherence to religion would be stronger than it was at any time in the past, as is the case in western societies.

#### Why a Secular State?

Many social studies have concluded that religious values in the West do now, more than any other time in the past, constitute the foundation upon which these societies are established. The problem of a Christian in the West is one that is related to doctrine and religious rites when in truth Christian moral values and practices have become firmly established in the lives of individuals and groups.

As far as we are concerned in the Third World in general and in the Islamic World in particular, the real crisis is related to alienation from moral values, when in truth people's basic beliefs remain unaffected.

Western Christians are careful to have appearances reflect what lies in their hearts. Honesty, truthfulness and devotion to work are values that cannot be overlooked. Accordingly, the individual in the West has been more successful than urban man in the developing countries [in achieving a sense of] psychological equilibrium. The problem of man in the West lies in the fact that he has lost the social support for the individual, and this was naturally tied to urbanization and to industrialization.

But we in urban societies have lost both [systems of] support. We lost the psychological support because we cannot establish a balance between our appearance and our hearts, and we lost the social support because our traditional societies have begun to decline due to the encroachment of urban societies. The loss of psychological equilibrium is a problem that is basically related to the conflicting values, customs and traditions of the country and the city. Our loss of social support is a social problem that is related to the dissolution of social ties and

relations. This is a result of the fact that we have been affected by urban values and by the requirements of life in a city. Hence, it is difficult for us, on the one hand, to adjust to our traditional life and, on the other hand, to our modern life because the creation of the present urban mode made the separation of our traditional life from its roots possible. In the city, a person has become a stranger to his work, to the return [that is due him] from his work, to his co-workers, to his neighbors and even to those who pray with him. These are the bases of the malaise in our society. Then the question [to be raised here] is this:

#### How Do We Protect Our Integrated Societies from Collapse?

The problems from which our society suffers are basically social problems. The effort must be made to protect authentic Sudanese societies from collapse. The ascription of religion to politics or the politicization of religion may not solve the problems we suffer from, and it may even increase their complexity because we must direct our efforts basically towards the achievement of social justice and free and equal participation for groups, individuals, religions and cultures. In their efforts to achieve social justice and in their partiality to the subjects, the Sufis in Sudan were insistent on keeping out of political power. They thus spared the rulers many problems because they took it upon themselves to achieve psychological stability and social equilibrium for their societies. They served religious and social objectives, if we may use this contemporary term. It was through their partiality to the subjects that the Sufis sought to achieve stability and continuity for their societies through [a process of] continuous education which had enabled these societies to achieve self-actualization and self-control at a time when ruling brothers and cousins were fighting and struggling among themselves over the central power and over the powers of the region, the clan and the tribe.

It is the Sufis' insistence on coexisting with the subjects that provided the opportunity for integrating religion and society in Sudan. This is because the Sufis were responsible for organizing the subjects' business relations and rites of worship. The Sufis let the subjects organize their lives voluntarily, without direct coercion. To recognize and to encourage this role, kings and princes used to allot land to the men of the cloth so as to enable them to manage the religious, social and educational institutions and to act on behalf of the subjects. Elderly scholars used to organize the productive, consumer and educational lives of their societies through courses that were expanded by exploration, by devotion to the service of others and by self-denial.

#### The Course of Religious Missionary Activity in Sudan

It is the social content of the Islamic religion and its effort to achieve social justice that made the dissemination of Islam throughout Sudan by peaceful means based on persuasion possible. Religion performed its

role spontaneously and through collective participation. Those who were responsible for religion did not resort to conquest, nor did they resort to the control or the displacement of any form of worship or of business relations [in the process of] regulating them. The hermitages, the shrines, the mosques, the hostels, the small mosques for religious orders, the tombs and the prayer circles were no more than an expression of the prestige religion has in people's hearts. It was also the Sufis who had established and created these institutions, and it was the Sufis who had striven for them. The Sufis did not depend on anyone for support. They rather undertook difficult courses: they cultivated [the land]; they harvested [the crop]; they advised the producer; and they encouraged the indolent. The man of religion is a spiritual educator; he is a healing physician; and he is the authority which supersedes that of all else. The Sufis protect the novices of their order, and they stand by a protégé even if he is unjust. The Sufis never resorted to the establishment of legal punishment against a thief to have his hand cut off. Hence their prestige among the subjects and in all societies became firmly established.

And now when some people advocate the application of Islamic law, are they advocating the institution of legal punishment against someone who consumes alcohol, who is a thief or an adulterer? Are they advocating that people be forced to perform religious rites and to pray? Is this what they are driving at? Are they seeking the achievement of social justice, social integration, or social equality? Or are they after one sectarian or tribal group getting control over political power?

The immediate and mandatory statutory application of Islamic laws may lead us to a failure to realize any one of the aforementioned goals. It may lead Islam in Sudan to lose the ability to be flexible and to take the initiative. Islam had acquired this ability throughout the ages in the heart of Africa as a strategic purpose for African cultures and civilizations in the Arab and Islamic world.

Equality among civilizations, cultures and peoples is thus achieved without having people fettering themselves with the superiority complex which allowed the white man to exploit religion to achieve his racist goals in Africa and in Palestine in the same manner.

The application of Islamic law as proposed by many religious and political advocates has led to putting traditional religions in front of a difficult choice: that Muslims themselves do not want. This is because the incorporating of the population [into society] and the discrimination against it would be founded on absolutely religious bases in 2025 A.D. Because of their circumstances and the religion of their intellectual elite these societies may find themselves closer to Christianity than to Islam. They may find that Christianity is becoming the religion of tolerance which accepts other religions and interacts with them, whereas the precautions that are prescribed on these societies for the application of Islam will prevent the movement of these societies towards Islam, as was the case in the past.

Islam would thus lose a strategic area as a result of its followers' haste, their precipitousness and their lack of appreciation for the civilizations and cultures around them of which the Sufis became aware hundreds of years ago when they recognized the importance of coexisting with these civilizations and cultures. With patience, leadership and exploration the Sufis were able to convert societies in their entirety to Islam without resorting to sternness or coercion because sooner or later sternness is countered by displacement; sternness creates conditions suitable for tension; tension leads to competition between unequal social and religious groups; inequality fans the fires of the struggle; and the struggle may impede the development of nations and the stability of states. This is what we fear.

#### What Do We Fear in the Year 2025?

We fear that a hasty application of Islamic law may be followed by a decline in the economic, social and cultural privileges of religious minorities because opportunities for action in those areas for these minorities would be limited. Citizens who subscribe to these [minority] religions may become second class citizens in 2025 because of their religious affiliations. If this is the case, will this have any political effects? Can political stability be achieved in these societies, or will minorities take advantage of opportunities to provoke religious, regional and racial chauvinism regardless of the good intentions of the majority in Sudan? Will the Sudanese people in the year 2025 be preoccupied with putting their agricultural and mineral resources to work and with performing their prayers and religious rites, or will they be preoccupied with their religious and racial struggles?

The experiences of multi-religious and multi-racial countries, regardless of the good intentions of their leaders, indicate that hostile relations prevail in societies where political polarization that is unequal and is based on religious principles exists. This is because political, social, cultural and economic polarization will lead to the division of societies into sectors or classes that have privileges in accordance with their religious affiliations. There would be other groups that are deprived and exploited because of their religious affiliations also. Such polarization may assume regional proportions and hence would be directly reflected over the distribution of the population. There would be regions and districts in cities where Moslems live; others where Christians live; and third areas where those who have no religion live.

#### Compulsory or Voluntary Religious Devotion

Decision making centers in the political, economic, social and cultural circles in the infrastructure of polarized societies are numerous. These decisions may contradict national goals. The experiences of multi-religious and multi-denominational peoples have proven the impossibility of realizing absolute national affiliation when distinctions are made between the presence of those religions and sects and when the state becomes a party to

the preferential treatment of a particular religion or a particular sect, regardless of its small size, over the remaining religions and sects, societies that developed and achieved national success are those which were able to marshal all the religions and the sects and treat them equally without being partial to this or that religion. They also encouraged and supported the religious activities of all societies on the basis of the fact that these societies complemented each other. This was the Sennarian formula. Is it possible for us to benefit from our experiences and our history before we hasten to imitate other people?

The experience of the Islamic religion in Sudan and its success in interacting with local cultures has defined the intellectual and emotive contexts and channels that would ensure the stability and survival of Sudanese societies as well as their interaction [with each other] and their integration. Sudanese individuals and groups have adopted Islam and have practiced its customs, its traditions, its values, its modes of worship and its tenets out of conviction and confidence and out of a feeling of strength and confidence in the individual and in the group. We cannot replace this by establishing a religion that is based on fear, tension, worry and impotence. Which is deeper and more lasting: elective, voluntary religious devotion, or compulsory, forced religious devotion?

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CSO: 4802

## BRIEFS

DEVALUATION OF CURRENCY--The government last week announced a 20 percent devaluation of the Sudanese pound, from an official exchange rate of \$2.50 to \$2.00. The effective devaluation was however 37.75 percent, since a new "incentive rate" of \$1.25 replaced the former market rate of \$2.00. The devaluation, which took immediate effect, was intended to help tackle Sudan's persistent balance of payments problems. In June last year, the official value of the Sudanese pound was reduced from \$2.871 to \$2.50 to meet the conditions for a standby loan from the IMF parallel to this official devaluation of 12.9 percent however was an effective devaluation of 20 percent. The government had been offering a subsidy on all incoming foreign exchange transactions and an equivalent tax on all outgoing transactions which rendered the effective market value of the pound \$2.50. This tax/subsidy was replaced by another of SuL 0.10 per pound, which gave the pound a real value of \$2.00. This now gives way to the incentive rate, representing a fall of \$0.75 in the pound's actual value. Sudan's staple imports and exports, notably its chief foreign-exchange earner, cotton, will be priced at the new official rate. Finance Minister Badrel Din-Ahmed said the incentive rate was intended to attract foreign exchange from Sudanese working abroad and would also apply to imported luxury goods. He said he hoped the rate would further discourage barter and incite merchants to deal through Sudanese banks. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English 24 Sep 79 p 9]

USO: 4820



OPPOSITION LEADER CALLS FOR POLITICAL PLURALISM

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 26 Aug 79 p 15

[Article by Khemais Chamari\*: "Conditions and Means for Democratic Openness; No Alternative to Political Pluralism"]

[Text] Tunisian public opinion circles expressed satisfaction with the measures that were taken by President Bourguiba to release some political prisoners and some trade union members who had been detained for reasons pertaining to expressing their opinions. These measures will not fail to establish in western public opinion commentaries that will refer to this step and commend it in the most glowing terms.

The one-party Destourian regime, the free world's favorite ally--the exaggeration here is sarcastic since no further comment is required--has gone so far as to embarrass its most ardent advocates. There has been a series of political trials which exceeded 30 trials over 10 years; there were the bloody events of 26 January 1978; and there was the extraordinary election of Bourguiba as president of the republic for life. The past 10 years have accomplished nothing but an increase in the government's despotic and anti-democratic nature.

The amnesty measures were adopted on 3 August. In addition, a few days before that, that is, on 31 July, the National Assembly had adopted a resolution amending the elections law and requiring that the number of candidates in each district be twice that of the number of seats that were contested. Do these measures indicate to the supporters of the regime, under the given conditions and circumstances, that a new trend does exist that would gradually fall in with the method of the constitutional government and usher the country into the road of liberal openness? There is nothing at all to arouse suspicion about a development such as this. The voices that have often inured us to expect statements made in the loudest terms about non-forgiveness and similar matters are trying today to assume a new tone.

\*Khemais Chamari is a well-known Tunisian writer and journalist of the opposition who is living in Paris.

But let me be permitted, in the light of previous experiences, to express some reservations.

Let me concede at the outset that I will not be able to deny the positive nature of the measures that put an end to the tribulations and the suffering of a group of fighters who are today enjoying freedom that is precious, albeit fragile and conditional.

But this initiative also represents one of the results of the splendid solidarity campaign with those people. This campaign was undertaken months ago by international and Tunisian democratic, trade-unionist and humanitarian organizations. At any rate, this initiative calls for numerous observations which in fact represent the preliminary conditions for achieving the genuine democratic openness that is consistent with the aspirations of Tunisian public opinion and Tunisian youth.

#### Preliminary Conditions

1. At the outset and as a preliminary condition for all serious discussion around openness, there is first the problem of the release of all those who are still in prison. There is the problem of a general and unconditional amnesty to all those who struggled in the different Tunisian organizations and those who were subjected to trials, that is, during the bygone years. [This amnesty is also to include] all the isolation victims who were tried separately and individually because they had made unfavorable statements or written some slogans. [The amnesty is to include] the hundreds of persons who were put on trial on criminal charges after 26 January 1978, and those persons are to return to their work. [It is to include] the scores of trade-unionists who were put on trial last year. Finally, [the amnesty is to include] those who were tried in absentia and the political exiles. Presenting those people with a passport must not be a favor; it is their legitimate right. In general, doesn't the acquisition of a passport represent a demand that is consistent with the Helsinki Declaration about people's freedom of movement and thought? This general amnesty must be final because the situation of "subsequent to" that was generated by publication of a law in April 1974 has been confirmed since 1970. As we know, it led to the arrest of six of the Burj al-Rumi prisoners who were detained illegally for 5 years.

2. The second concern that democratic fighters have pertains to the trade-union movement. The release of the trade-unionists along with a repeal of all administrative restrictions must necessarily be followed by a general amnesty. But this must basically be accompanied by the return of the trade-union leaders to the trade union responsibilities they had been assuming before 26 January 1978. This, in fact, is the only acceptable "normalization" process that can represent a prelude to the democratic call for a labor union conference that is based on the resolutions of the 14th Tunisian General Union of Labor (UGTT) Conference and its national assembly that was held between 8 and 10 July 1978.

3. The use of torture is to be condemned, and the path is to be opened so that the executioners can be pursued legally. There were three other alarming testimonies following the scandal of the death of the trade-unionist Husayn al-Kuki under torture and because of the lack of medical care. In addition, all the information that has been gathered since 1968 about torture [has become available]. This information is embodied in what trade-unionist Sa'id Fayqah, who has recently disappeared, did reveal. This is in addition to what was revealed by Ahmad Ben 'Uthman al-Radawi and Zayn al-Din al-Madhuri from the bowels of their prison cells. These testimonials were recently published in Paris.

The legal regulations of defense rights and the measures of the prosecutor are to be honored. Shocking excesses in the area of monitoring and setting up emergency courts must be exposed. All this applies to the demands of the majority of democratic Tunisians.

This is because along with the exaggerated, arbitrary pursuit of alleged conspiracies, real conspiracies may emerge. And when people are taken to court for what they did not do, such as damaging the security of the state, [such injustice] may encourage them out of despair to undertake what they were unjustly tried for.

4. All this naturally presupposes that the freedoms which are theoretically guaranteed by the constitution are exercised. These freedoms are also guaranteed by international agreements, and especially the International Declaration of Human Rights that was issued on 10/12/1948, to which the Tunisian state is signatory.

This Article 29 of Law No 154, which was issued on 7 November 1959, shamefully contradicts Article 8 of the Constitution. The administrative order that preceded it, which is described by Professor Rivero as "a beast that is tormented by traditional liberalism," has in fact been interpreted in Tunisia with extreme cruelty. Among the most recent excesses in this regard was the National Assembly's rejection of the defense of public liberties and the refusal to publish the newspapers that were offered by the Communist Party and by the Popular Unitary Movement. There were restrictions also whose vehemence was increased by the press law. These are the restrictions that are imposed on the freedom to publish and to print.

Exercising these freedoms includes the rights of parties and the basic rights to know and to have social justice. These rights have been denied in the last 10 years.

5. Finally, and here we come to the cornerstone of every openness policy: there is the basic problem of political pluralism.

## The Failure of the One-Party Experiment

The situation in Tunisia and the experience of the Destourian Party make the pluralistic solution inevitable. There is only one power that is stronger than the army, and that is the power of the democratic nation whose time has come. The hour of pluralism in Tunisia is at hand. There are Islamic Movement activists whose ambiguous proposals go hand in hand with the growth of their influence; there are Tunisian ultra-leftist groups; and there are the best elements of the Socialist Democratic Movement. There is broad political agreement today about the notion of political pluralism among the Marxists, the Arab nationalists, the radical nationalists, the socialist democrats and the liberals. The communists offered concrete, moderate suggestions in this direction. It also appears that the Popular Unitary Movement has abandoned the illusion of a miracle-working single party. It is true that all these demands are usually seized and are not granted. The hard-liners who were responsible in a major way for the provocations that disturbed political life in independent Tunisia are not those who have an interest in launching an operation which they fear may affect their privileges and their considerable powers.

There can be no reconciliation within a single party, that places everybody in the same bag, between the advocates of an economic and social course that was endorsed specifically by the current tourist strategy and by the 1972 and 1974 foreign investment laws and those who are on the left and are calling for a policy of actual national and ideological independence. This applies to several other economic, political and cultural debates (on immigration, development, cultural independence, non-alignment, Arab and African environment) whose sharpness is increasing.

Except for this one formula, none other can accomplish more than slight cosmetic operations that may lead to a new distribution [of characters] in the context of the anticipated dispute over Bourguiba's succession and in the context of the traditions of the Destourian Party that has been in power for 23 years. Outside this solution there can only be some gradual concessions that are made between the barons of the regime, with their usual peripheral disputes, and the Destourian intellectuals who can compose pages on "The Gradual Methods of Openness that Can Guarantee Democracy in the Context of the al-Ummah Party."

A final word: Many people must have noticed that the amnesty measures that were announced were adopted on 9 August, on the occasion of the birthday of the chief of state.

Whose Celebration?

The day of the republic was a few days before this, that is, on 25 July. It would have been a good occasion to show that there was a desire for agreement that so often Destourian Party officials brag about.

In a regime that is based on expressing praise for the president and agreement with him, it was inevitable that the latter be reminded about some political priorities. But this may be a humble way to show in a symbolic manner the beginning of the decline of this regime. This is the logic of despotism. I repeat, the courage to confront ordeals and the political acumen and reputation that a certain man has to control his agents in a confrontation with colonialism--all this--do not justify that an entire nation and its youth abandon their critical faculties, because this would involve considerable dangers.

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CSO: 4402

## TUNISIA

### OPPOSITION LEADER CALLS FOR BROAD FRONT, OVERTHROW OF RULING CLIQUE

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 26 Aug 79 p 15

[Article: "Appeal from Ibrahim Tobal\*: 'A Broad Front Must Be Established To Confront and Overthrow Ruling Clique'"]

[Text] Tunisia is on the verge of a new turning point today, and, consequently, it will soon face a political decision that will be the first of its kind since independence. The regime of Tunisia is very close or very near to its natural end, and all the measures of relief that have been proposed to revive and to make it capable of surviving and continuing to exist for a second stage through this or another successor will not succeed.

The current regime has been eroded from the inside. It has been torn apart, and its factions, its individuals, its aspirations and its desires have been dispelled. Only a small ruling clique remains, and it too is being fragmented and broken up because of the dispute over who will succeed "the sick man." With or without Bourguiba this small clique has nothing that would enable it to survive. Socially, it can only arrest people, torture them and imprison them. These are the alternatives to granting people their requests for food, for education, for wages and for [necessities that manifest] the socio-economic crisis from which the majority of the Tunisian people are suffering. Politically, this clique does not have the opportunity to offer "openness solutions" similar to those of al-Sadat in Egypt and the royal regime in Morocco.

The most that Bedi Nouira's genius and political office were able to accomplish in this area was to present candidates for the group or for the gang instead of presenting one candidate for the elections of the National Assembly and the municipal councils. This group, moreover, is living in a political society where people's rejection of the remnants of the Socialist

\*Ibrahim Tobal is a prominent [member of] the nationalist Tunisian opposition. He is the president of the Tunisian opposition which has been fighting against the Bourguiba regime inside the country and abroad.

Destourian Party has been growing. The insistence of the Tunisian public and their leaders on the fact that party pluralism becomes a fundamental principle in the democracy they want for their country is growing. But the conditional amnesty that was granted to the union leader Habib Achour and to seven of his colleagues was an attempt to delude and to deceive Tunisian and world public opinion in an attempt to hide the fact that the prisons were still filled with fighters who have been waiting for their trials for a long period of time. There are such groups as that of al-Shu'lah and that of AL-SHA'B AL-SIRIYAH newspaper. There are those groups against whom harsh sentences have been issued recently, such as the fighters of the Tunisian Revolutionary People's Party; or there are those who have been cowering inside the prison walls of Burj al-Rumi for 10 years. Finally, there are 21 leaders of the Tunisian General Union of Labor (UGTT).

This ruling clique is standing in the midst of masses that are disgruntled and hungry. Today more than any other time in the past they are taking notice of the burden of the oppressive nightmare that was forced upon them since independence. These masses know that the opportunity of deliverance is now at hand and that everything that the regime contemplates serves the purpose of killing this opportunity. The masses do not want to miss the opportunity this time. They want the representatives of all the democratic and progressive movements to meet soon. They want them to meet and to have a dialogue for the purpose of producing a broad democratic front for change as soon as possible. This front would attract all the forces of good in the society and among the people. These forces should soon be able to bring about an end to this regime which they do not want and to begin building the new, just, democratic regime which they had longed for and for which they had struggled for a long time.

The small ruling clique in Tunisia is preparing the climate now so it can confiscate the future of the people anew for long years through the party conference. No longer is this the party of anyone but the members of the ingroup. In addition, the party did lose its distinction as a party for the people immediately after independence. The ingroup wants the resolution on the "candidates'" formula to suggest that there is a development towards liberalism. In reality, however, it wants to confiscate people's wishes and aspirations about the fact that free and direct elections as well as freely available candidacy to all citizens constitute the course for Tunisia not only to elect its parliament, but also to elect a new president outside the patronage of the cliquish ingroup and its Destourian Socialist Party.

The statements that were made by Hedi Nouira and Mohamed Sayah and other statements about "a future that is favorable to a Bourguiba" are futile because they demonstrate the isolation in which the people are floundering, the anxiety that controls them, and the despair that they are experiencing every day in facing their painful reality which they are trying to get rid of by talking, but to no avail. The fact is that the Destourian regime has



will certainly shed the foundations by suppressing the national, popular and progressive movement in its entirety and by suppressing all its social groups. This regime set itself up by means of violence and it still wants to impose itself by means of violence. It is devoting itself to serving the wishes and purposes of members of the gang who make up this regime and who are fighting these days over the succession in isolation from the popular masses and their aspirations. Every one of them is working for his own interests and for the interests of his masters in the imperialist west.

In view of this tragic situation and of the possibilities that this struggle may set up a Fascist military regime or something similar to it or that it may cause a civil war to break out or an expected foreign intervention to take place, I thought it was my duty [to speak up] as a Tunisian nationalist. Ever since independence I have been with those who have suffered more than others from the oppression and the terrorism of Bourguiba's regime, and I have been among them and with them fighting against the regime and fighting to change it. [I thought it was my duty] to make my appeal on behalf of the Tunisian Nationalist Opposition Movement to my colleagues and my brothers, the representatives of the factions of the Democratic and Progressive Nationalist Movement in Tunisia for the purpose of setting up a meeting soon in which we would establish the foundations for a broad nationalist, political front that would determine a new, democratic stage for building Tunisia.

The absence of such a front constitutes a major gap in the fitness of the Tunisian Progressive Nationalist Opposition. On the one hand it deprives the masses of the opportunity of having a capable and a strong leadership. On the other hand, it makes the ruling ingroup happy, and it gives it greater ability to maneuver and to manipulate the contradictions amidst the parties of the opposition. Last, but no least, it prevents the establishment of the notion that a nationalist front is the means for democratic change, and it also helps to maintain those movements that vacillate between opposition and support.

To confront what will be called the party conference, the voice of the ruling gang, which will be convened early next September, we must be able to convene a front conference, the voice of struggling Tunisia and the echo of years and years of struggles by workers, farmers, students, soldiers and intellectuals. They fought for actions that are based on popular aspirations, the aspirations of the broad masses, and they wanted to turn these aspirations into social, economic, and educational programs and organizations. This will not come about unless the six following conditions are set:

First, the institutions of the present regime are to be abolished. Parliament is to be dissolved, and the constitution is to be abolished. A general amnesty is to be issued, and it is to be followed by the release of all political prisoners and the return of all political exiles. The [legal] status of all the heroes of the national opposition and the National Liberation Army is to be restored. Chief among those heroes is the late leader Salah Ben Youssef. The murderers and the torture squads are to be put on trial.



Second, with regard to the political parties: we must make ourselves clear especially after 23 years of a dictatorial regime inasmuch as the people have been aspiring to achieve their democratic freedoms. Therefore, multiple party legislation must be enacted; it is not to preclude the existence of alliances that are based on the political, economic, social and cultural programs that are common among several parties. These alliances must not be alliances of an electoral nature only.

Third, an interim nationalist and popular unitary government is to be formed. Its members are to be affiliated with the proposed front. The function of this government would be to lead the country until parliamentary elections are held, a new government is formed and a president of the republic is elected. It is possible to form a sovereign council besides an interim government. The function of this council would be to monitor the government and to follow up on the establishment of new organizations. The function of this council would come to an end when the new president is elected.

Fourth, a legislative council is to be elected. Its function is to prepare a draft constitution on which the people would vote. This council would be dissolved after the constitution is ratified.

Fifth, a national assembly and a president of the republic are to be elected on the basis of the new constitution which is to control and determine the method of these elections.

In so far as it is the basic constitutional law, the new constitution must turn the people's economic, social and cultural choices into genuine independence. It cannot have any orientation but a socialist one. It must also affirm the unity of Northwest Africa as a stage leading towards a comprehensive Arab unity. Tunisia must also take its place within the nonaligned group of nations.

In order to achieve these goals I am calling upon my colleagues and my brothers, the representatives of Tunisian nationalist and progressive democratic movements and communities to hold a broad meeting to lay down the first bricks for [building] such a front and to formulate a comprehensive, popular political movement that would be capable of leading the Tunisian people and getting them permanently out of the sphere of the existing regime. Plans are now being prepared to keep the Tunisian people within the sphere of the existing regime for a long period of time. This is being done by means of discussions about the succession within the regime and within the small ruling ingroup that is still insisting upon a Bourguiba continuity.

Today, Tunisia is at a decisive, political turning point. It needs a broad national framework for the opposition whose purpose is clear, whose method is clear and whose command and organization are regional. The sacrifices that were made for scores of years by fighters who lost their lives or who suffered imprisonment, torture and exile call upon us today to give Tunisia,

our dear homeland, such a front. Our people want this from us, and this would be their response to what is called the ruling Destourian Socialist Party. Let this be an opportunity to show the whole world that Tunisia has decided to get rid of this ruling clique that has controlled its life since independence and which has no more to give the people but jails, oppression and assassination.

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